THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

In EIGHT VOLUMES, illustrated with Plates.

By DAVID HUME, Efq.

A NEW EDITION, with the Author's last Corrections and Improvements.

To which is prefixed,

A fhort ACCOUNT of his LIFE, written by Himfelf.

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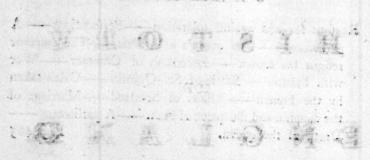
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OF

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ENRY H VIII.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Wolsey's administration — Scotch affairs — Progress of Francis I. — Jealousy of Henry — Tournay delivered to France-Wolfey. appointed legate—His manner of exercifing that office— Death of the emperor Maximilian—Charles king of Spain chosen emperor - Interview between Henry and Francis near Calais-The emperor Charles arrives in England --- Mediation of Henry -Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.

HE numerous enemies whom Wolfey's fud- C HAP. den elevation, his aspiring character, and his XXVIII. haughty deportment had raifed him, ferved only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who Wosey's valued himself on supporting the choice which he had admini-Vol. IV. made.

XXVIII. 1515.

C H A P. made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people, or to the discontents of the great. That artful prelate likewife, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he fecretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his mafter. By entering into the king's pleasures, he preserved his affection; by conducting his bufinefs, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaifance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealoufy to which his exorbitant acquifitions, and his splendid oftentatious train of life, should naturally have given birth. The archbishopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolfey was promoted to that fee, and refigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on eafy leafes, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to refide abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a confiderable share of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the fee of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement in ecclefiaftical dignity ferved him as a pretence for engrossing still more revenues: The pope, obferving his great influence over the king, was defirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train confifted of eight hundred fervants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: Some even of the nobility put their children into his family

mily as a place of education; and in order to gain C H A P. them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his fervants. Whoever was diffinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public inftitutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. Not content with this munificence. which gained him the approbation of the wife, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the fplendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, the luftre of his apparel. He was the first clergyman in England that wore filk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his faddles and the trappings of his horfes . He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a perfon of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A prieft, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of filver, on whose top was placed a cross: But not satisfied with this parade, to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the crofs of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of these rival fees. The people made merry with the cardinal's oftentation; and faid they were now fenfible, that one crucifix alone was not fufficient for the expiation of his fins and offences.

WARHAM, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employof eight hundred

a Erafm. Epist. lib. 2. epist. i. lib. 16. epist. 3.
b Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 501. Hollingshed, p. 847.
c Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

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CHAP, ment, than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He refigned his office of chancellor; and the great feal was immediately delivered to Wolfey. If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more

enlarged knowledge of law and equity 4.

THE duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almost entirely exhausted by projects and pleafures, while his inclination for expence still continued, was glad to refign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox bishop of Winchester, reaped no advantage from his absence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly difgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolfey, withdrew himself wholly to the care of his diocese. The duke of Suffolk had also taken offence that the king. by the cardinal's perfuation, had refused to pay a debt which he had contracted during his refidence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king " not to fuffer the fervant to " be greater than his mafter:" Henry replied, that he well knew how to retain all his subjects in " obedience;" but he continued still an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and countels of the cardinal.

THE public tranquillity was fo well established in England, the obedience of the people so entire, the

d Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504.

general

general administration of justice by the cardinal's CHAP. means of fo exact, that no domestic occurrence hapbened confiderable enough to diffurb the repose of the king and his minister: They might even have dispensed with giving any strict attention to foreign affairs, were it possible for men to enjoy any fituation in-absolute tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprifes, however fruitless and unnecessary.

his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of fairs. the convention of states, which confirmed that destination, had expressly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried! But notwithstanding this limitation, a few months after her husband's death, she espoused the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promiting hopes. Some of the nobility now proposed the electing of Angus to the regency, and recommended this choice as the most likely means of preferving peace with England: But the igalousy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglasses, begat opposition to the meafure. Lord Hume, in particular, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, infifted on recalling the duke of Albany, fon to a brother of James III. who had been banished into France, and who. having there married, had left posterity that were the next heirs to the crown, and the nearest relations to their young fovereign. Albany, though first prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their fituation, unpractifed in their language; yet fuch was the favour attend-

THE will of the late king of Scotland, who left Scotch af-

1515.

ing the French alliance, and fo great the authority of of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept

e Erasm. lib. 2. epist. 1. Cavendish. Hall. f Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.

CHAP. XXVIII. the reins of government. Francis, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany some time in France; but at length, sensible how important it was to keep Scotland in his interests, he permitted him to go over and take possession of the regency: He even renewed the ancient league with that kingdom, though it implied such a close connexion as might be thought somewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

WHEN the regent arrived in Scotland, he made inquiries concerning the state of the country, and character of the people; and he discovered a scene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be confidered as a confederacy, and that not a close one, of petty princes, than a regular fystem of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, possessed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms more than laws prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or justice, was the virtue most valued and respected. The nobility, in whom the whole power refided, were fo connected by hereditary alliances, or fo divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without employing an armed force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt, or give fecurity to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exercised on a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their esteem and approbation; and by rendering him useful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the necessity of mutual fupport ferved as a close cement of amity among those of the fame kindred, the spirit of revenge against enemies, and the defire of profecuting the deadly feuds (fo they were called) still appeared to be passions the most predominant among that uncultivated people. THE

THE persons to whom Albany on his arrival first C HAP-applied for information with regard to the state of XXVIII. the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume 8; and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief fource of public diforders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws and the administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they faid, to make an example of this great offender; and by the terror of his punishment, teach all lesser criminals to pay respect to the power of their fovereign. Albany, moved by thefe reasons, was induced to forget Hume's past fervices, to which he had in a great measure been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the alteration, and was incited, both by regard to his own fafety, and from motives of revenge, to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied himself to Angus and the queen-dowager, and represented to them the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the states had imprudently entrusted the whole authority of government. By his perfuafion Margaret formed the defign of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that conspiracy was detected, she herself, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where the was foon after delivered of a daughter.

HENRY, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to these malcontents, and affured them of his support. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that noble1515.

Horgond.

CHAP. man returned into his own country; but mutual fuspicions and jealousies still prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care of the earl of Arran his brother-in-law; and was for some time detained prisoner in his castle. But having perfuaded Arran to enter into the conspiracy with him, he was allowed to make his escape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation enfued, not more fincere than the foregoing; and Hume was so imprudent as to entrust himself, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately feized, committed to custody, brought to trial, condemned and executed. No legal crime was proved against these brothers: It was only alleged, that at the battle of Flouden they had not done their duty in supporting the king; and as this backwardness could not, from the course of their past life, be ascribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however, of guilt produced against them was far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while fiving, were much diffatisfied with their execution. olds of said

> Such violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they destroy mutual confidence, and beget the most inveterate animofities, their consequences are commonly fatal, both to the public and to those who have recourse to them. The regent, however, took advantage of the present calm which prevailed; and being invited over by the French king, who was at that time willing to gratify Henry, he went into France; and was engaged to remain there for some years. During the ablence of the regent some confusions prevailed in Scotland, and fuch mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among the great families, that that kingdom was for a long time utterly disabled, both from offending its enemies and affifting its friends. We have carried

carried on the Scottish history some years beyond the CHAP. prefent period; that, as that country had little connection with the general fystem of Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the narration of those more memorable events which were transacted in the other

kingdoms.

catried

IT was foreseen, that a young active prince like Francis, and of fo martial a disposition, would soon employ the great preparations which his predeceffor before his death had made for the conquest of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military-exploits of Gaston de Foix; and these tears of emulation were held to be sure prefages of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and having left every thing fecure behind him, he marched his armies towards the fouth of France; pretending that his sole purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swifs. This formidable people still retained their animofity against France; and having taken Maximilian duke of Milan under his protection, and in reality reduced him to abfolute dependance, they were determined, from views both of honour and of interest, to defend him against the invader h. They fortified themselves in all those vallies of the Alps through which they thought the French must necessarily pass; and when Progress of Francis, with great fecrefy, industry, and perfe- brancis 1. verance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another paffage, they were not difmayed, but defeended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the most furious and 13th Sept. belt contested battles that is to be met with in the history of these later ages; and it required all the

emie streetly dilabled, both from ofover gy Memoires du Bellai, lib. 1. Guicciardini, lib. 12.

heroic

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1515.

C H A P. heroic valour of this prince to inspire his troops with courage fufficient to refift the desperate affault of those mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning the Swifs renewed the attack with unabated ardour; and it was not till they had loft all their bravest troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was strowed with twenty thousand flain on both fides; and the marefchal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement which he had yet feen was only the play of children; the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes i. After this great victory, the conquest of the Milanese was easy and open to Francis.

Jealoufy of Henry.

THE fuccess and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealoufy in Henry; and his rapid progress, though in so distant a country, was not regarded without apprehensions by the English ministry. Italy was, during that age, the feat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it possessed alone that lustre which has since been shared out among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe, and every acquifition which was made there appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power was, strictly speaking, entitled to. Henry also thought that he had reason to complain of Francis for fending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his fifter the queen dowager k. The repairing of the fortifications of Terouenne was likewife regarded as a breach of treaty. But above all, what tended to alienate the court of England, was the difguit which Wolfey had entertained against the French monarch.

HENRY, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop elect, to the

¹ Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

k Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 31.

possession of the temporalities, because that prelate CHAP. declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new fovereign; and Wolfey was appointed, as above re- 1515. lated, administrator of the bishopric. As the cardinal wished to obtain the free and undisturbed enjoyment of his revenue, he applied to Francis, and defired him to bestow on Gaillart some see of equal value in France, and to obtain his refignation of Tournay. Francis, who still hoped to recover possession of that city, and who feared that the full establishment of Wolfey in the bishopric would prove an obstacle to his purpose, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his fettlement in the fee. Wolfey, who expected to be indulged in every request, and who exacted respect from the greatest princes, refented the flight put upon him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek an occasion of quarrel with that monarch m.

MAXIMILIAN the emperor was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterprise; especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly fecretary to cardinal Bambridge, and now fecretary of state, was dispatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commission to propose some confiderable payments to Maximilian : He thence made a journey into Switzerland, and by like motives engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a confiderable army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a fum of money, and thus excluded himself in some measure from all future access into Italy. And Henry found, that after ex-

m Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

n Petrus de Angleria, epift. 568.

1515.

CHAP, pending five or fix hundred thousand ducats in order to gratify his own and the cardinal's humour. he had only weakened his alliance with Francis. without diminishing the power of that prince.

THERE were many reasons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at prefent in his enmity against France: He could hope for affiftance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a speedy period was looked for to the long and prosperous reign of that great monarch. Charles prince of Spain, fovereign of the Low Countries, defired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy . Henry, therefore, was constrained to remain in tranquillity during some time; and feemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into fome expence, by offering to make a refignation of the imperial crown in his favour. The artifice was too grofs to fucceed, even with a prince fo little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character. gave him warning that the fole view of that prince. in making him fo liberal an offer, was to draw monev from him.

WHILE an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had been fo long looked for, and from which fuch important confequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the fuccession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions, The more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis fen- CHAP. fible of the necessity he himself lay under of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry; and he took at last the only method by which he could obtain fuccess, the paying of court by presents and flattery

to the haughty cardinal.

1518.

BONNIVET, admiral of France, was dispatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his infinuation and address, qualities in which he excelled. to procure himself a place in Wolfey's good graces. After the ambassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an opportunity of expressing his master's regret, that by mistakes and misapprehensions he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship which he so much valued as that of his eminence. Wolfey was not deaf to these honourable advances from so great a monarch; and he was thenceforth observed to express himself on all occasions in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his interests, Francis entered into fuch confidence with him, that he asked his advice even in his most secret affairs: and had recourse to him in all difficult emergencies as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no fecret to the king of this private correspondence; and Henry was so prepossessed in favour of the great capacity of his minister, that he faid he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself?.

WHEN matters feemed fufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his master's defire of recovering Tournay; and Wolfey immediately, without helitation, engaged to effect his purpole. He took an opportunity of representing to the king and council, that Tournay lay fo remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in case of war, to keep the communication open between these two places; That as it was situated XXVIII. 1518.

CHAP. on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands. it was exposed to attacks from both these countries. and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: That even in time of peace it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government: And that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

Tournay ceded to France.

THESE reasons were of themselves convincing, and were fure of meeting with no opposition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be confidered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among fovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties continued fo fleady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at confiderable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article 9: And left the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promifed him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay.

THE French monarch having succeeded so well in this negotiation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more confiderable advantages, by pracF

⁹ Memoires du Bellai, lib. 1.

tifing on the vanity and felf-conceit of the favourite. C H A P. XXVIII. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, confulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter father, tutor, governor, and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All these caresses were preparatives to a negotiation for the delivery of Calais, in confideration of a fum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolfey, on account of his being disposfeffed of his employment, and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: He was content to found privately the opinion of the other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burthen to the kingdom r: But when he found that all men were strongly rivetted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpole; and as he fell foon after into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

THE pride of Wolfey was now farther increased appointed by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal legate. Campeggio had been fent as legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built fo many interested projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the king defired of the pope that Wolfey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legatine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with

Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

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fuspend-

XXVIII. 1518.

CHAP. Suspending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolfey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new difplay of that state and parade to which he was fo much addicted. On foleran feast-days he was not content without faying mass after the manner of the pope himself: Not only he had bishops and abbots to ferve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank fuperior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham the primate having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself your loving brother, Wolsey complained of his prefumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. " Know ye " not," faid he, " that this man is drunk with too " much prosperity?" As if he bin

His manner of exercifing

Bur Wolfey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and offentation. He erected an office. that office, which he called the legatine court; and as he was now, by means of the pope's commission and the king's favour, invested with all power, both ecclefiaffical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be fet to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial powers even over the laity, and directed it to inquire into all matters of conscience; into all conduct which had given feandal; into all actions which, though they escaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commiffion, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more difguited, when they faw a man who indulged himself in pomp and pleasure, so severe in repressing the least appearance of licentiousness in others. But, to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey made one John Allen judge in it, a person of scandalous life , whom he himself, as chancellor. W bonimexa strongeries vot

Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 125.

had, it is faid, condemned for perjury: And as it CHAP. is pretended, that this man either extorted fines XXVIII. from every one whom he was pleafed to find guilty, or took bribes to drop profecutions, men concluded, and with some appearance of reason, that he shared with the cardinal those wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were exposed to this tyranny; and as the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle against them, they were obliged to purchase an indemnity, by paying large fums of money to the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority, Wolfey pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts; particularly that of judging of wills and testaments; and his decisions in those important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himself were pope, and as if the pope could absolutely dispose of every ecclefiaftical preferment, he prefented to whatever priories or benefices he pleafed, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry'.

No one durst carry to the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the discontents of his people. Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," said he, "is not so blind any "where as in his own house: But do you, father," added he to the primate, "go to Wolsey, and tell "him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual: It only served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham: But one London having prosecuted

Polydore Virgil, lib 27. This whole narrative has been copied by all the historians from the author here cited: There are many circumstances, however, very suspicious both because of the obvious partiality of the historian, and because the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed.

CHAP.

1518.

Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamour at last reached the king's ears; and he expressed such displeasure to the cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

1519.

Death of the emperor Maximilian.

WHILE Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, entrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died; a man who, of himfelf, was indeed of little consequence; but as his death left vacant the first station among Christian princes. it fet the passions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of æra in the general system of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the Imperial crown; and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promifed them fuccess in so great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretentions; but his minister, Pace, who was dispatched to the electors, found that he began to folicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on one fide or the other.

Francis and Charles made profession from the beginning of carrying on this rivalship with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, suitors to the same mistres: The more fortunate, added he, will carry her; the other must rest contented ". But all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reasonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to sharpen the minds of the candidates against each other. It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great disgust of the

Charles, king of Spain,

u Balcaria, lib. 16. Guicciardini, lib. 13.

French

French monarch, who still continued to the last in C H A P. the belief that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And as he was fome years fuperior in age to his rival, and, after his choien victory at Marignan, and conquest of the Milanese, much fuperior in renown, he could not suppress his indignation, at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, disappointed in fo important a pretension. From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs; which, while it kept their whole age in movement, fets them in so remarkable a contrast to each other: Both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring, active, warlike; beloved by their fervants and fubjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain fuccess in wars and in negociations, especially the latter. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch. The king, from his overfights and indifcretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himself from them with honour: The emperor, by his defigning interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rouse up a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had fubdued. And as the personal qualities of these princes thus counterpoised each other, so did the advantages and disadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a fudden, fo great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the fuccession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands: He inherited the con-C 2 quest

1519.

XXVIII. 1519.

C HAP. quest of Naples, of Grenada: Election entitled him to the empire: Even the bounds of the globe feemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe fince that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interpoled between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him. larges and mo

HENRY possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its fituation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this fingular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; fometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, feldom by his true interest. And thus, though he exulted in that fuperiority which his fituation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own effential and durable advantage, or to that of his by flattery, protestations kingdom.

FRANCIS was well acquainted with Henry's cha-1 520. racter, and endeavoured to accommodate his con-Henry and duct to it. He folicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and considence. Wolfey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his fplendour, and his influence over both

Interview between Francis at Calais.

monarchs w. And as Henry himself loved show and C H A P. magnificence, and had entertained a curiofity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expence: Many of them involved themselves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain fplendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was fomewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, threw out fome expressions of displeasure against the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that meafure :: An imprudence which was not forgotten by this minister was a those two relations and

he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; Charles and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, arrives in in order to give a suitable reception to his royal 25th May guest. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the confequences, and was refolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king still a higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove, by every testimony of friendship, by flattery, protestations, promises, and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He here instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the fole point of elevation beyond his prefent greatness, it was fure to attract his wishes with

1520

WHILE Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, The em-

the same ardour as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her prefents. In confidence of

altod 1970 . Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. briefel

adarsnom Ibid, Herbert. Hollingshed, p. 855.

XXVIII. I520.

CHAP. reaching this dignity by the emperor's affiftance, he fecretly devoted himfelf to that monarch's interests: and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promifes, because Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely that, for many years, he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry eafily observed this courtship paid to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a Subject of vanity; and believed that, as his favour was Wolfey's fole support, the obeifance of such mighty monarchs to his fervant, was in reality a more confpicuous homage to his own grandeur.

30th Mar.

THE day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place fituated between these two towns, but still within the English pale: For Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at Wolfey, to whom both kings had the interview. entrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance, in order to do honour to his master. The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with fuch emulation and profuse expence, as procured to the place of interview the name of the field of the cloth of gold.

THE two monarchs, after faluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpose, and they held a secret conference together. Henry here proposed to make fome amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, I Henry King: These were the first words; and he stopped He subjoined only the words of Enga moment. land, without adding France, the usual style of the

English monarchs y. Francis remarked this delicacy, C H A P. and expressed by a smile, his approbation of it.

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He took an opportunity foon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himself, and incapable of distrusting others, was shocked at all the precautions which were observed, whenever he had an interview with the English monarch: The n mber of their guards and attendants was carefully reckoned on both fides: Every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted: And if the two kings intended to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their respective quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained fo many dishonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guifnes. The guards were furprifed at the prefence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, You are all my prisoners: Carry me to your master. Henry was equally aftonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, " My brother," faid he, " you have here played me the most agreeable " trick in the world, and have showed me the full " confidence I may place in you: I furrender my-" felf your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth 15,000 angels 2; and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the fake of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a present, and

y Memoires de Fleuranges.

Z An angel was then estimated at seven shillings, or near twelve of our present money.

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CHAP, which was double in value to the collar. The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time entirely in tournaments and of Auffria began fentibly to take the alrenda slevifled

A DEFIANCE had been fent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback, Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter, whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a fpacious house of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feafted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it, Cui adhareo praest; He prevails whom I favour : Expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments, more than in any ferious bufiness, did the two kings pass their time, till their departure. noting instead

64th June. HENRY paid then a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pass some

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Memoires de Fleuranges.

days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles C H A P. here completed the impression, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. As the house of Austria began fensibly to take the ascendant over the French monarchy, the interests of England required, that some support should be given to the latter, and, above all, that any important wars should be prevented, which might bestow on either of them a decifive superiority over the other. But the jealoufy of the English against France has usually prevented a cordial union between these nations: And Charles, fensible of this hereditary animosity, and defirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur), that he should be entirely arbiter in any dispute or difference that might arise between the monarchs. But the masterpiece of Charles's politics was the fecuring of Wolfey in his interests, by very important services, and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of affifting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in prefent possession of the revenues belonging to the fees of Badajox and Placencia in Castile. The acquifitions of Wolfey were now become fo exorbitant, that, joined to the penfions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to possess, his revenues were computed nearly equal to those which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them with a magnificence, or rather an oftentation, which gave general offence to the people, and even lessened his master in the eyes of all foreign nations and the

THE violent personal emulation and political jea- War beloufy which had taken place between the emperor tween Charles and the French king foon broke out in hostilities, and Fran-

of mild dive good on or men; cis. Polydore Virgil, Hall,

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de Fleuranges

XXVIII.

1521.

of Henry.

CHAP. But while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest defire of peace; and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire be-Mediation tween them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to fend their ambaffadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolfey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprifed of the partiality of these mediators: and his demands in the conference were fo unreasonable, as plainly proved him confcious of the advantage. He required the restitution · of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom: And he demanded to be freed from the homage which his anceitors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolfey, foon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the fame state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his mafter's name, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated, that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now fome prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the refult of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

4th Nov.

THE

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THE people faw every day new instances of the CHAP. uncontrolled authority of this minister. The duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had imprudently given difgust to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reason to repent of his indifcretion. He feems to have been a man full of levity and rash projects; and being infatuated Trial and with judicial aftrology, he entertained a commerce condemnation of with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who encou- the duke raged him in the notion of his mounting one day of Buckthe throne of England. He was descended by a female from the duke of Glocester, youngest son of Edward III.; and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been fo unguarded as to let fall some expressions, as if he thought himfelf best intitled, in case the king should die without issue, to possess the royal dignity. He had not even abstained from threats against the king's life, and had provided himfelf with arms, which he intended to employ, in case a favourable opportunity should offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whose fon, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward, in order to preside at this solemn procedure. The jury confifted of a duke, a marquis. feven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict against Buckingham, which was soon after carried into execution. There is no reason to think the fentence unjust 4; but as Buckingham's crimes feem to proceed more from indifcretion than deliberate malice, the people, who loved him, expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their disappointment to the animosity and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealoufy,

1521.

d Herbert. Hall. Stowe, 513. Hollingshed, p. 862.

however.

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3521.

CHAP. however, of all persons allied to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign; and was alone fufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

Detellion concerning the cestofical flate. Origin of the proceed of the reformation. The with France - Invafor of France - West with Scotland - A pail amon - In whom of Prance mentalian roar ment his king of brance, invades Staly - Battle of Proje and appreciate of Frances Francis recovers his siterrammonics of Rome League willb. France.

IURING tome years, many parts of Lurope had been agitated with those religious controverfies which produced the reformation, one of the greatest events in history. But as it was not call this time that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occation to give any account of its rife and progreds. It will now be neceffary to explain their theological diffiutes; or, what is more material, to trace from their origin those abuses which so generally diffused the comion. what a reformation of the church, or ecclematical order, was become highly expedient, it not ablulurely necessary. We that be better enabled to comprehend the fubiods, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reatons why there must be an ecclesiastical order and a public establishment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the orelent occa-Con will, I hope, excute this thort digrethen. naold:

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able during the whole course of his reign a and was alone tofficient to render him implacable against

NAME however of all persons allied to the crown, was notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remark.

Digression concerning the ecclesiastical state-Origin of the reformation—Martin Luther—Henry receives the title of defender of the faith—Caufes of the progress of the reformation-War with France - Invasion of France - War with Scotland—A parliament—Invasion of France -Italian wars-The king of France invades Italy-Battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis -Francis recovers his liberty-Sack of Rome -League with France.

URING fome years, many parts of Europe CHAP. had been agitated with those religious controversies which produced the reformation, one of the greatest events in history: But as it was not till this time that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occasion to give any account of its rife and progress. It will now be necessary to explain these theological disputes; or, what is more material, to trace from their origin those abuses which so generally diffused the opinion, that a reformation of the church, or ecclefiastical order, was become highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the subject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons why there must be an ecclesiastical order and a public establishment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the prefent occafion will, I hope, excuse this short digression.

1521.

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CHAP. XXIX.

1521. Digreffion concerning the ec-

Most of the arts and professions in a state are of fuch a nature, that, while they promote the interests of the fociety, they are also useful or agreeable to fome individuals; and in that case, the constant rule of the magistrate, except, perhaps, on the first inclesiastical troduction of any art, is, to leave the profession to itself, and trust its encouragement to those who reap the benefit of it. The artizans, finding their profits to rife by the favour of their customers, increase, as much as possible, their skill and industry; and as matters are not diffurbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always fure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

But there are also some callings which, though ufeful and even necessary in a state, bring no particular advantage or pleasure to any individual; and the supreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of those professions. . It must give them public encouragement in order to their subsistence; and it must provide against that negligence, to which they will naturally be subject, either by annexing peculiar honours to the profession, by establishing a long subordination of ranks and a first dependance, or by some other expedient. The persons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magistracy, are instances of this order of men.

Ir may naturally be thought, at first fight, that the eccletialtics belong to the first class, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and physicians, may fafely be entrusted to the liberality of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines. and who find benefit or confolation from their fpiritual ministry and assistance. Their industry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by fuch an additional motive; and their skill in the profession, as well as their address in governing the minds of the people, must receive daily increase, from their increasing practice, study, and attention.

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But if we consider the matter more closely, we CHAP. shall find, that this interested diligence of the clergy is what every wife legislator will study to prevent; because in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infusing into it a strong mixture of superstition, folly, and delusion. Each ghostly practitioner, in order to render himself more precious and facred in the eyes of his retainers, will inspire them with the most violent abhorrence of all other fects, and continually endeavour, by fome novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency, in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that best suits the disorderly affections of the human frame. Customers will be drawn to each conventicle by new industry and address, in practifing on the passions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magistrate will find, that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality, in faving a fixed establishment for the priefts; and that in reality the most decent and advantageous composition, which he can make with the spiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by affigning stated falaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be farther active. than merely to prevent their flock from straying in quest of new pastures. And in this manner ecclefiaftical establishments, though commonly they arose at first from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political interests of fociety.

But we may observe, that few ecclesiastical establishments have been fixed upon a worse foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumstances more hurtful to the peace

and happiness of mankind.

THE large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil magistrate, and armed with too extensive authority

152I.

C H A P. authority an order of men, who always adhere closely together, and who never want a plaufible pretence for their encroachments and usurpations. The higher dignities of the church ferved, indeed, to the fupport of gentry and nobility; but by the establishment of monasteries, many of the lowest vulgar were taken from the useful arts, and maintained in those receptacles of floth and ignorance. The supreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by interests always different from those of the community, fometimes contrary to them. And as the hierarchy was necessarily solicitous to preserve an unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifest risque of being extinguished; and violent persecutions, or, what was worse, a stupid and abject credulity, took place every where: shriftian world, and mal

To increase these evils, the church, though she poffesfed large revenues, was not contented with her acquisitions, but retained a power of practifing farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even bestowed on each individual priest a power of enriching himself by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him still an urgent motive for diligence and industry in his calling. And thus, that church, though an expensive and buthensome establishment, was liable to many of the inconveniences which belong to an order of priests trusting entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a fubfiftence.

THE advantages attending the Romish hierarchy were but a small compensation for its inconveniences. The ecclefialtical privileges during barbarous times had ferved as a cheque on the defootism of kings. The union of all the western churches under the supreme pontiff facilitated the intercourse of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a close connexion with each And the pomp and splendour of worship Mom

which belonged to fo opulent an establishment, con- CHAP. tributed in some respect to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuse a general elegance of tafte, by uniting it with religion.

Ir will easily be conceived, that though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romish church, this was not the chief reason which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents must have contributed to forward that great revolution.

LEO X. by his generous and enterprising temper, had much exhausted his treasury, and was obliged to employ every invention which might yield money, in order to support his projects, pleasures, and liberalities. The scheme of selling indulgences was Origin of fuggested to him, as an expedient which had often the referved in former times to draw money from the Christian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was supposed, was posfessed of a great stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the faints, beyond what were employed in their own justification; and even to the merits of Christ himself, which were infinite and unbounded: And from this unexhaufted treafury the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purpoles, in refifting the infidels or fubduing schifmatics. When the money came into his exchequer. the greater part of it was usually diverted to other purpofes .

It is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falfity of the doctrines which, as supreme pontiff, he was obliged by his interest to promote: It is the less wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit those pious frauds which his predecessors, the

parts of Europe into a close connexion with each other And chanbles bas her redression of worthing

CHAP. most ignorant and credulous, had always, under plaufible pretences, made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the sale of a general indulgence'; and as his expences had not only exhausted his usual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the feveral branches of it were openly given away to parficular persons, who were entitled to levy the impofition. The produce, particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was affigned to his fifter Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural fon of Innocent VIII. and she, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoese, once a merchant, now a bishop, who still retained all the lucrative arts of his former profession 8. The Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and confideration: But Arcemboldi, fearing left practice might have taught them means to fecrete the money b, and expecting no extraordinary fuccess from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. These monks, in order to prove themselves worthy of the distinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the most unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head which, though not more ridiculous than those already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people. To add to the scandal, the collectors of this revenue are faid to have lived very licentious lives, and to have spent in taverns, gaming-houses, and places Itill-more infamous, the money which devout perfons had faved from their usual expences, in order to purchase a remission of their fins k,

f In 1517.

⁸ Father Paul, Sleidan.

h Father Paul, lib. T.

I See note [A] at the end of the volume.

Father Paul, lib. 1.

ALL these circumstances might have given offence, CHAP. but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not arisen a man qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Martin Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittem- Luther. berg, refenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves; and was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him!. Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he discovered fome new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, fermon, conference; and daily increased the number of his disciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from that lethargy in which they had fo long sleeped, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurifdiction: The republic of Zuric even reformed their church according to the new model: Many fovereigns of the empire, and the Imperial diet itself, showed a favourable disposition towards it: And Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promifes of advancement or terrors of feverity, to relinquish a fect of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

I Father Paul, Sleidan.

CHAP. XXIX. 1521.

THE rumour of these innovations soon reached England; and as there still sublisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partifans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who in his writings spoke with contempt of Thomas Aguinas. the king's favourite author: He opposed himself. therefore, to the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him: He even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs, especially those in the flower of their age and force of their passions. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received fo magnificent a prefent with great tellimony of regard; and Henry re- conferred on him the title of defender of the faith; an appellation still retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controverly, foon published an answer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of style to which in the course of his polemics he had fo long been accustomed. The king by this ill usage was still more prejudiced against the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally fayour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the dispute ". And as the controverfy became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists, it drew still more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe. look into their pridit, life rather and they could,

title of defender of the faith.

3Uodsiw

THE quick and surprising progress of this bold CHAP. fect, may justly in part be ascribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: Not that reason bore any considerable share in opening men's eyes with regard to the impostures of the Romish church: For of all branches of literature philosophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the most inconsiderable progress; neither is there any instance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of abfurdity with which fuperstition has every where overwhelmed them? Not to mention, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, prove fufficiently that it owed not its fuccels to reason and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progress in another manner. By means of that art the books of Luther and his fectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, fomewhat awakened from a profound fleep of fo many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and scrupled less to tread in any unusual path of which which was opened to them. And as copies of the scriptures and other ancient monuments of the Christian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the first centuries; and though argument and reafoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well supported, was able to make impression on their understandings. Many of the powers, indeed, af-fumed by the church of Rome, were very ancient, and were prior to almost every political government. established in Europe: But as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they could, D 3 without

THE

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1521. Causes of the progress of the reformation.

derender situ to

CHAP. without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity.

> In order to bestow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not fatisfied with opposing the pretended divinity of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniencies of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their ancestors as abominable, deteftable, damnable; foretold by facred writ itself as the fource of all wickedness and pollution. They denominated the pope antichrift, called his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome theappellation of Babylon; expressions which, however applied, were to be found in scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid arguments. Excited by contest and perfecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremity their opposition to the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious fpecies of faith, inward vision, rapture, and ecflacy. The new fectaries, feized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and fet at defiance all the anathemas and punishments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

> THAT the civil power, however, might afford them protection against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable in some respect to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and they exhorted princes to reinstate themselves in those powers of which the encroaching

fpirit.

fpirit of the ecclefiaftics, especially of the sovereign C HAP. pontiff, had fo long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were either tired of the obedience and chaftity, or difgusted with the licence in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the excessive riches, the idleness, the libertinism of the clergy; and pointed out their treasures and revenues as lawful spoil to the first invader. And as the ecclesiastics had hitherto conducted a willing and a flupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controversy, much more with every species of true literature; they were unable to defend themselves against men armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate; Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romish hierarchy; and fuch were the causes of their rapid and astonishing fuccess:

LEO X. whose oversights and too supine trust in ift Dec. the profound ignorance of the people, had given rise to this fect, but whose found judgment, moderation, and temper, were well qualified to retard its progress, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book against Luther; and he was fucceeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and fimplicity of manners which diftinguished his character; but fo violent were their prejudices against the church, he rather hurt the cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues. He frankly confessed, that many abominable and detestable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this fincere avowal he gave occasion of much triumph to the Lutherans: This pontiff also, whose penetration was not equal

D 4

CHAP, to his good intentions, was feduced to concur in XXIX. that league which Charles and Henry had formed against France"; and he thereby augmented the 1521. fcandal occasioned by the practice of fo many preceding popes, who still made their spiritual arms fubfervient to political purposes. Indie bas soon an

1523.

THE emperor, who knew that Wolfey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the refentment of that haughty minister, was folicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this ina6th May. cident. He paid another visit to England; and besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolfey all the promifes which he had made him, of feconding his pretentions to the papal throne. Wolfey, fentible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promifed a fpeedy vacancy, diffembled his refentment, and was willing to hope for a more prosperous issue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which fome articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolfey for the revenue which they fhould lofe by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himself wth Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. After a stay of fix weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he foon pacified the tumults which had arisen in his absence . While the

War with France.

teries:

THE king declared war against France; and this measure was founded on so little reason, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his fending Albany into Scotland. This last step vigorous fallies upon his army

Guiceiardini, lib. 14. Petrus de Angleria, epift. 765. befue and bad weather threw the foldiers into dyfen-

had not been taken by the French king, till he was CHAP. quite affured of Henry's resolution to attack him. Surrey landed some troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying waste the country, he failed to Morlaix, a rich town in Britanny, which he took and plundered. The English merchants had great property in that place, which was no more fpared by the foldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the viceadmiral; and failed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army destined for the invasion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to 18,000

THE French had made it a maxim in almost all Invasion of France their wars with the English since the reign of Charles V. never without great necessity to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wife policy. He supplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, Hedin, with strong garrifons and plenty of provifions: He himself took post at Abbeville, with some Swifs and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: The count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with fix thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion; to throw supply into any town that was threatened; and to harafs the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, first divided his troops. for the convenience of subfifting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid fiege to Hedin. But neither did the fucceed in this enterprise. The garrison made vigorous fallies upon his army: The French forces affaulted him from without: Great rains fell: Fastigue and bad weather threw the foldiers into dyfenteries:

CHAP. teries: And Surrey was obliged to raise the siege; and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and five or fix hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him mafter of

one place within the French frontier.

THE allies were more fuccessful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, loft a great battle at Bicocca near Milan; and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supplying Lautrec with money, was followed by the loss of Genoa. The castle of Cremona was the sole fortrefs in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

EUROPE was now in fuch a fituation, and fo connected by different alliances and interests, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuse itself throughout the whole; But of all the leagues among kingdoms, the closest was that which had fo long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long War with unmolested on the northern frontier. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took meafures for kindling a war with England; and he fummoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Rolline 4. He thence conducted the army fouthwards into Annandale; and prepared to. pass the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were difgusted with the regent's administration; and observing that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in comparison of those which he maintained with France, they murmured that, for the fake of foreign interests, their peace should so often be disturbed, and war during their king's mi-

Scotland.

P Guicciardini, lib. 14.

A Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond, Pitscottie.

nority be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring C H A P. nation, fo much superior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refused to advance any farther; and Albany, observing a general discontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the English west marches. Soon after he departed for France; and left the opposite faction should gather force in his absence, he sent thither before him the earl of Angus, husband to the queen-dowager.

NEXT year Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's absence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merfe and Teviotdale without opposition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them: The two Humes had been put to death: Angus was in a manner banished: No nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to affume the government: And the English monarch, who knew the distressed situation of the country, determined to push them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the fense of their present weakness, to make a folemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England'. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heirefs of England, and their young monarch; an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms': And the queen-dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They faid that the interest of Scotland had too long been facrificed to those of the French nation, who, whenever they found themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the affiftance of their allies;

r Buchanan, lib. 14. Herbert.

1522.

Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

THE

CHAP. but were ready to abandon them as foon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: That where a small state entered into so close a confederacy with a greater, it must always expect this treatment, as a confequence of the unequal alliance; but there were peculiar circumstances in the fituation of the kingdoms which in the present case rendered it inevitable: That France was fo distant and fo divided from them by fea, that she scarcely could by any means, and never could in time, fend fuccours to the Scots, sufficient to protect them against ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: That nature had in a manner formed an alliance between the two British nations; having inclosed them in the fame island; given them the fame manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: And that if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be the effect of peace, these two kingdoms, fecured by the ocean and by their domestic force, could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever fafe and unmolested.

THE partifans of the French alliance, on the other hand, faid, that the very reasons which were urged in favour of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its superior force, were the real causes why a fincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hostile nation: That among neighbouring states occasions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful would be fure to feize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing it to subjection: That as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the Scots, if they wished to maintain their independence, to preserve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: That if they deferted that old and falu-

Buchcar, itb. It.

tary alliance on which their importance in Europe CHAP. chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, stimulated both by interest and by passion, would soon invade them with superior force, and bereave them of all their liberties: Or if they delayed the attack, the infidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a flavery more certain and more irretrievable'.

XXIX.

THE arguments employed by the French party, being feconded by the natural prejudices of the people, feemed most prevalent: And when the regent himself, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the English fleet, at last appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that fide. By authority of the convention of states he assembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them fouthwards towards the borders. But when they were passing the Tweed at the bridge of Melrofs, the English party raised again such oppofition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp opposite to Werk-castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He fent over some troops to besiege this fortress, who made a breach in it, and stormed fome of the outworks: But the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and discouraged by the advanced feafon, thought proper to disband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to -Scotland. The Scottish nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not during several years in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leifure to profecute his defigns with the former kingdom, which theninos alfone of the latter. That it they deferted that old and falu-

Buchanan, lib, 14.

C H A P. XXIX.

THE reason why the war against France proceeded fo flowly on the part of England, was the want of money. All the treasures of Henry VII. were long ago diffipated; the king's habits of expence still remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterprises. He had last year caused a general furvey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years, profession, stock, revenue'; and expressed great satisfaction on finding the nation so opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular fums: This act of power, though fomewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practifed by kings of England; and the people were now familiarised to it. But Henry this year carried his authority much farther. He published an edict for a general tax upon his fubjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound upon the clergy, two fhillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a precedent for the king's imposing taxes without consent of parliament.

A parliament.

Henry foon after fummoned a parliament, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a disposition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolfey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation, in hopes that their example would influence the parliament to grant a large supply. He demanded a moiety of the ecclefiastical revenues to be levied in five years, or two shillings in the pound during that time; and though he met with opposition, he reprimanded the refractory members in such severe terms, that his request

was at last complied with. The cardinal afterwards, CHAP. attended by feveral of the nobility and prelates, came to the house of commons; and in a long and elaborate speech laid before them the public necessities, the danger of an invation from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of 800,000 pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a fum computed, from the late furvey or valuation, to be equal to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one shilling in the pound yearly, according to the divifion proposed ". So large a grant was unusual from the commons; and though the cardinal's demand was feconded by fir Thomas More the speaker, and feveral other members attached to the court, the house could not be prevailed with to comply w. They only voted two shillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards; one shilling on all who possessed between twenty pounds and forty fhillings a year; and on the other fubjects above fixteen years of age, a groat a-head. This last fum was divided into two yearly payments; the former into four; and was not, therefore, at the utmost above fix-pence in the pound. The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the fum demanded; and the cardinal, therefore, much mortified with the disappointment, came again to the house, and defired to reason with such as refused to comply with the king's request. He was told that it was a rule of the house never to reason but among themselves; and his desire was rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an imposition of three shillings in the

This furvey or valuation is liable to much suspicion, as fixing the rents a great deal too high; unless the sum comprehend the revenues of all kinds, industry as well as land and money.

W Herbert, Stowe, p. 518. Parliamentary History. Strype, vol. i. P. 49, 50.

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CHAP. pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a-year and upwards *. The proceedings of this house of commons evidently discover the humour of the times: They were extremely tenacious of their money, and refused a demand of the crown, which was far from being unreasonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to pass uncensured, though its direct tendency was to subvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was fo diffatisfied with this faying disposition of the commons. that as he had not called a parliament during feven years before, he allowed feven more to elapse before he fummoned another: And on pretence of necessity he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years, a new invasion of national privileges. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to the cardinal's counsels, who, trufting to the protection afforded him by his ecclefiastical character, was the less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

THAT ambitious prelate received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The pope Adrian VI. died; and Clement VII. of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the Imperial party. Wolfey could now perceive the infincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never fecond his pretensions to the papal chair. As he highly refented this injury, he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the Imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his master and the French king. Meanwhile he concealed his difgust; and after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legatine powers which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement,

7 Speed. Hall. Herbert.

^{*} See note [B] at the end of the volume.

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knowing the importance of gaining his friendship, CHAP. granted him a commission for life; and, by this unufual concession, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In fome particulars Wolfey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity: He fought, all over Europe, for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges: And, in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some smaller monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the less difficult for him, because the Romish church began to perceive that she overabounded in monks, and that the wanted some supply of learning, in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative humour of the reformers.

THE confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign z. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to defert the French alliance, and to form engagements for fecuring Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in possession of the Milanese. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy, combined in the fame measure. The emperor, in person, menaced France with a powerful invasion on the side of Guienne: The forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy: A numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: But all these perils from foreign enemies were less threatening than a domestic conspiracy which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, against the French monarch.

CHARLES duke of Bourbon, constable of France, was a prince of the most shining merit; and, besides

2 Guicciardini, lib. 14.

VOL. IV.

C H A P. distinguishing himself in many military enterprises, he was adorned with every accomplishment which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made fuch impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, the made him proposals of marriage; and, meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of unrelenting vengeance against him. She was a woman false, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was confiderable, acquired an absolute ascendant over her fon. By her instigation Francis put many affronts on the constable, which it was difficult for a gallant spirit to endure; and, at last, he permitted Louise to prosecute a lawfuit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

Bourbon, provoked at all these indignities, and thinking that, if any injuries could justify a man in rebelling against his prince and country, he must stand acquitted, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England a. Francis, pertinacious in his purpose of recovering the Milanese, had intended to lead his army in person into Italy; and Bourbon, who seigned sicknefs, in order to have a pretence for staying behind, purposed, as foon as the king should have passed the Alps, to raife an infurrection among his numerous vaffals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his defign; but, as he was not expeditious enough in fecuring fo dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape b; and, entering into the emperor's fervice, employed all the force of his enterprifing spirit, and his

Memoirs du Bellay, liv. 2.

b Belcarius, lib. 17.

great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native CHAP.

1523.

country. THE king of England, defirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended by the lords Montacute, 24th Aug. Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen. The English army, reinforced by some troops drawn Invasion from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about of France. 12,000 men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they pre-

pared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprise appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreuil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter-quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed resolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and fuccess; and when he retreated over the bridge. they purfued him fo hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they befieged, and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they c Herbert.

CHAP. proceeded to the river Oife, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation; till the duke of Vendôme hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being furrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during fo advanced a feafon, thought proper Montdidier was abandoned: And the English and Flemings, without effecting any thing.

retired into their respective countries.

France defended herfelf from the other invasions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furstenberg. The count of Guise, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppose to them but some militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. threw the militia into the garrifon-towns; and with his cavalry he kept the field, and fo haraffed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guise attacked them as they passed the Meufe, put them into diforder, and cut off the

greater part of their rear.

THE emperor made great preparations on the fide of Navarre; and though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it feemed now exposed to danger from the powerful invasion which threatened it. Charles belieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he of a fudden raifed the fiege, and fat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made a fudden march, and threw himself into Bayonne, which he defended with fuch vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were constrained to raise the fiege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this fide, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, fitten down in the winter feafon before that city, well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The cowardice

cowardice or misconduct of the governor saved him CHAP. from the shame of a new disappointment. place was furrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprise, put his troops

So obstinate was Francis in profecuting his Italian Italian

into winter-quarters.

expedition, that, notwithstanding these numerous wars. invasions with which his kingdom was menaced on every fide, he had determined to lead in persona powerful army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conspiracy and escape stopped him at Lyons; and, fearing some insurrection in the kingdom, from the intrigues of a man so powerful and fo much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to fend forward his army under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The dutchy of Milan had been purposely left in a condition somewhat defenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprises of Bourbon; and no fooner had Bonnivet passed the Tesin, than the army of the league, and even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. It is agreed, that if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole dutchy depends, would have opened its gates without resistance: But as he wasted his time in frivolous enterprises, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garrison, and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took possession of all the posts which commanded the passages to it. But the army of the league, meanwhile, was not unactive; and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of the French, that it feemed more likely

the latter should themselves perish by famine, than reduce the city to that extremity. Sickness and fatigue and want had wasted them to such a degree, that they were ready to raise the blockade; and E 3

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CHAP. their only hopes confifted in a great body of Swis, which was levied for the fervice of the French king, and whose arrival was every day expected. But these mountaineers no sooner came within fight of the French camp, than they stopped from a sudden caprice and refentment; and, instead of joining Bonnivet, they fent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then ferved under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company. After this defertion of the Swiss, Bonnivet had no other choice but that of making his

retreat as fast as possible into France.

THE French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines were fatisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were resolved to profecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealoufy of the emperor's ambition; and their fufpicions were extremely augmented when they faw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and whose defence he had embraced f. They all concluded that he intended to put himself in possession of that important dutchy, and reduce Italy to subjection: Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealoufy, proceeded fo far in opposition to the emperor, that he fent orders to his nuncio at London, to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolfey, difgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain-glory, was determined that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful

c Guicciardini, lib. 15. Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2.

f Guicciardini, lib, 15.

army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: CHAP. Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month; after which, he might either chuse to continue the same monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The dutchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: The rest of the kingdom to

This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was most easily performed: Bourbon refused to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprise, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of Imperialists invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Pescara. laid fiege to Marfeilles, which, being weakly garrifoned, they expected to reduce in a little time: But the citizens defended themselves with such valour and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in fafety, the glory of repulfing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom: But, as he received intelligence that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprises, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardour feized him for the conquest of Milan; and, notwithstanding the advanced feafon, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wifest counsellors, to lead his army

into Italy.

HE passed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no The king fooner appeared in Piedmont than he threw the of France invades whole Italy.

CHAP. whole Milanese into consternation. The forces of XXIX. the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and had Francis been fo fortunate as to purfue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally difperfed : But his ill fate led him to befiege Pavia. a town of confiderable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place proved fruitless. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Levva, new retrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches: He attempted to divert the course of the Tefin, which ran by one fide of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river destroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the foldiers, during a long time and with infinite labour, had been erecting. Fatigue, and the bad feafon (for it was the depth of winter,) had wasted the French army. The Imperial generals, meanwhile, were not unactive. Pefcara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, affembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his personal interest, levied a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets, with which he joined the Imperialists. This whole army advanced to raise the fiege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

> THE state of Europe was fuch, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and industry every where, except in Italy and the Low-Countries, partly from the extensive privileges still possessed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the finall armies which they kept on foot could not be regularly paid by them. The Imperial forces com-

> > Ju Guicciardini, lib. 15. Du Bellay, liv, 2.

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manded by Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannov, ex- CHAP. ceeded not twenty thousand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invafion of France, either on the fide of Spain or Flanders). Yet, fo poor was that mighty monarch. that he could transmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp which had made them advance, and kept them to their standards. Had Francis raifed the fiege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they must immediately have difbanded; and he had obtained a complete victory without danger or bloodshed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obstinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once faid, that he would take Pavia or perish before it, he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities than depart from this resolution.

THE Imperial generals, after cannonading the 24th Feb. French camp for feveral days, at last made a general Battle of Pavia, and affault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva captivity fallied from the town, and increased the confusion of Francisamong the besiegers. The Swifs infantry, contrary to their usual practice, behaved in a dastardly manner, and deferted their post. Francis's forces were put to rout; and he himself, surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing feven men with his own hand, was at last obliged to furrender himself prisoner. Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river. The few who escaped with their lives fell into the

THE emperor received this news by Pennalofa, who passed through France by means of a safeconduct granted him by the captive king. The moderation which he displayed on this occasion, had

hands of the enemy.

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CHAP. it been fincere would have done him honour. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and discovered his sense of those calamities to which the greatest monarchs are exposed. He refused the city of Madrid permisfion to make any public expressions of triumph; and faid that he referved all his exultation till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He fent orders to his frontier garrifons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reasonable terms. But all this feeming moderation was only hypocrify, fo much the more dangerous as it was profound. And he was wholly occupied in forming schemes how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions he was ever governed.

THE fame Pennalofa, in paffing through France, carried also a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then refided at Lyons. It contained only these few words, Madam, all is lost, except our bonour. The princess was struck with the greatness of the calamity. She saw the kingdom without a fovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; furrounded on every fide by implacable and victorious enemies: And her chief resource, in her present distresses, were the hopes she entertained of peace, and even

of affistance from the king of England.

HAD the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, it is evident that the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis were the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his schemes effectual. While the war was

^{*} Vera Hift, de Carl. V.

carried on in the former feeble manner, without CHAP. any decifive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier town, or perhaps of a fmall territory, of which he could not have kept possession without expending much more than its value. By fome fignal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of confiderable provinces, or dismember that great monarchy, so affectionate to its own government and its own fovereigns. But as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections fo far, he was startled at this important event, and became fenfible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the dif- Henryemtreffed condition of Francis, he was determined to braces the lend him affiftance in his present calamities; and, France of as the glory of generofity in raifing a fallen enemy, concurred with his political interest, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

Some difgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolfey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealoufy and fuspicions. The emperor so ill supported the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and, instead of writing to him with his own hand, and fubscribing himself your affectionate fon and cousin; he dictated his letters to a fecretary, and fimply subscribed himself Charles i. Wolfey also perceived a diminution in the careffes and professions with which the emperor's letters to XXIX. 3525.

CHAP. him were formerly loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of fuccess. was probably more dangerous to Charles's interests. than the other.

HENRY, though immediately determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publickly difmissed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London ': But, upon the regent of France's submissive applications to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and, besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise that she never would confent to the difmembering of any province from the monarchy for her fon's ranfom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprise; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he dispatched Tonstal. bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required that Charles should immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in poffession of that province: and he demanded the payment of large fums of money which that prince had borrowed from him in his last visit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him master of fuch confiderable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

Tonstal, likewise, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his master that Charles, on his part, urged feveral complaints against England; and, in particular, was displeased with Henry, because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments

⁴ Du Bellay, liv. 3. Stowe, p. 221. Baker, p. 273.

to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his CHAP. stipulations. Tonstal added, that instead of expreffing an intention to espouse Mary when she should be of age, the emperor had hearkened to proposals for marrying his niece Isabella, princess of Portugal; and that he had entered into a feparate treaty with Francis, and feemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the fuccess with which fortune had crowned his arms.

THE king, influenced by all these motives, concluded at Moore, his alliance with the regent of 30th Aug. France, and engaged to procure her fon his liberty on reasonable conditions1: The regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns: After which Henry was to receive during life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolfey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

MEANWHILE, Henry, forefeeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was also determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects; and as the parliament had discovered some reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counsel of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued com- Disconmissions to all the counties of England for levying tents of the Engfour shillings in the pound upon the clergy, three lish. shillings and fourpence upon the laity; and fo uncontrollable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the flender pretence of a loan.

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Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités de Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.

CHAP. But he foon found that he had prefumed too far on the paffive submission of his subjects. The people. displeased with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, and farther disgusted with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, opposition to the commissioners: and their refractory disposition threatened a general infurrection. Henry had the prudence to stop short in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He fent letters to all the counties, declaring that he meant no force by this last imposition, and that he would take nothing from his fubjects but by way of benevolence. He flattered himself that his condescension in employing that difguife would fatisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himself obnoxious to royal authority, by refusing any payment required of him in this manner. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, could not so easily be quieted at plea-A lawyer in the city, objecting the statute of Richard III. by which benevolences were for ever abolished, it was replied by the court, that Richard being an usurper, and his parliament a factious affembly, his statutes could not bind a lawful and absolute monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace m. The judges even went fo far as to affirm positively, that the king might exact, by commission, any sum he pleased; and the privy council gave a ready affent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people. and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with fuch formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolfey fent for the mayor of London, and defired to know what he was willing to give for the supply of his majesty's necessities. The mayor seemed desirous, before

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he should declare himself, to consult the common CHAP. council: But the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen should separately confer with himself about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matters, however, went not fo fmoothly in the country. An infurrection was begun in some places; but as the people were not headed by any confiderable perfon, it was eafy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing perfuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and furrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the star-chamber, where, after a fevere charge brought against them by the king's council, the cardinal faid, "That, " notwithstanding their grievous offence, the king, " in confideration of their necessities, had granted "them his gracious pardon upon condition that " they would find fureties for their future good be-" haviour." But they replying they had no fureties, the cardinal first, and after him the duke of Norfolk faid, that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were difmiffed ".

THESE arbitrary impositions being imputed, though on what grounds is unknown, to the counfels of the cardinal, increased the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon being ascribed to the king, was considered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the meafure. But Wolfey, supported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without scruple, to violate all ecclefiaftical privileges, which, during

" Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 525. Hollingfied, p. 891.

that

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that age, were much more facred than civil; and having once prevailed in that unufual attempt of fuppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe, and exercised over them an arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission as legate, he was impowered to visit them, and reform them, and chaflife their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large fums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppression was carried fo far that it reached at last the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. Wolsey had built a splendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Westminster, for his own residence; but fearing the increase of envy on account of this magnificence; and defitous to appeale the king, he made him a present of the building, and told him that, from the first, he had erected it for his use.

THE absolute authority possessed by the king, rendered his domestic government, both over his people and his ministers, easy and expeditious: The conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to fuch a fituation, that it was no longer fafe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of short duration; and it was foon obvious to all the world that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extensive. The terms which he demanded of his prisoner were such as must for ever have annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis foon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and as he had hitherto trusted fomewhat to the emperor's generofity, the difappointment

pointment excited in his breaft the most lively indig- C HAP. nation. He faid that he would rather live and die a prisoner than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that even were he fo base as to submit to such conditions, his fubjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

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Francis was encouraged to perfift in demanding more moderate terms, by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's dispositions towards him, and of the alarm which had feized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was un- Francis easy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor, removed with whom he must treat; and he expressed his defire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the fame frankness of disposition by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. Partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, he fell into a languishing illness; which begat apprehensions in Charles, lest the death of his captive should be reave him of all those advantages which he purposed to extort from him. He then paid him a visit in the castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the fick monarch called to him, "You come, fir, to vifit your prisoner." " No," replied the emperor, " I come to vifit my " brother and my friend, who shall soon obtain his " liberty." He foothed his afflictions with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the king daily recovered; and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the minifters of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

· Herbert, De Vera, Sandoval.

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AT last the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, was willing to abate somewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was figned, by which it was hoped an end would be finally put to the differences between these great monarchs. The principal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest fons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy: If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated, that in fix weeks time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely fevere upon the captive monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to Subjection and dependance.

Many of Charles's ministers forefaw that Francis. how folemn foever the oaths, promifes, and protestations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty fo difadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive, to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: By facrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of foreign assistance; and arming his oppreffor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him abfolutely irrefistible. To these great views of interest were added the motives, no less cogent, of passion and refentment; while Francis, a prince who piqued himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the severe terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was also foreseen, that the emulation and rivalship which had so long fubfisted between these two monarchs, would make him

him feel the strongest reluctance on yielding the fu- C HAP. periority to an antagonist, who by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had shewn. himself so little worthy of that advantage which fortune and fortune alone had put into his hands. His ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies, would be fure with one voice to inculcate on him, that the first object of a prince was the preservation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which with a private man ought to be absolutely supreme, and fuperior to all interests, were, with a sovereign, subordinate to the great duty of enfuring the safety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be fo romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a casuistry which was so plausible in itfelf, and which fo much flattered all the passions by which either as a prince or a man he was strongly actuated.

FRANCIS, on entering his own dominions, de- March 18. livered his two eldest fons as hostages into the hands recovers of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkish horse, his liberty and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, I am yet a king. He foon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting that he should be entirely governed by his counfels in all transactions with the emperor. When the Spanish envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the propofal, under colour that it was previously necessary to assemble the states both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their confent. The states of Burgundy soon met; and declaring against the clause which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing, even by

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Romes

rents.

force of arms, the execution of fo ruinous and unjust an article. The Imperial minister then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should now return to his prison; but the French monarch, instead of complying, made public the treaty which a little before he had secretly concluded at Cognac, against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the

emperor P.

THE pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested in these events, had been held in the most anxious suspense with regard to the resolutions which Francis should take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who fuspected that this prince would never execute a treaty fo hurtful to his interests, and even destructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in fuspense. but entered immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swifs, the Florentines. and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reasonable fum of money; and to restore Milan to Sforza, without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the boly league, so it was called: And if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, in profecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats: And that cardinal Wolfey, in confideration of the services which he had rendered to Christendom, should also, in such an event, be put in possession of a revenue of 10,000 ducats.

P Guicciardini, lib. 17.

FRANCIS was defirous that the appearance of this CHAP. great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid: and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remifs in his warlike preparations; nor did he fend in due time reinforcement to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanefe, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a confiderable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so because Charles, destitute as usual of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promifed to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed as 6th May he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls; but his foldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the affault with the utmost valour, and entering the city fword in hand, exercifed Sack of all those brutalities which may be expected from fe- Romej rocity excited by refistance, and from insolence which takes place when that refistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to fo many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians by whom she was often subdued. fuch indignities as the was now compelled to fuffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the least ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed 9. Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the infults of the foldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their pa-

I526.

1527.

Guicciardini, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.

C H AP. rents, and upon those very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel death, in order to make them reveal their fecret treafures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms, Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the facredness of his character, and neglected to make his escape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the German, who being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleafed to gratify their animofity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

WHEN intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrify, expressed the most profound forrow for the fuccess of his arms: He put himself and all his court in mourning: He stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his fon Philip: And knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers during feveral months to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty; which all men knew a letter under his hand could in a moment have

procured.

THE concern expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was more fincere. These two monarchs, a few days before the fack of Rome. had concluded a treaty at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to fend ambaffadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ranfom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in case of refusal the ambassadors.

f 30th April,

attended

attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war CHAP. against him. This war it was agreed to prosecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thoufand infantry, and fifteen hundred men at arms, two-thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by And in order to strengthen the alliance Henry. between the princes, it was stipulated that either Francis, or his fon the duke of Orleans, as should afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No fooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprife, than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the 29th May. projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther stimulated to undertake the war with vigour for re- 11th July. storing him to liberty. Wolfey himself crossed the fea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert measures for that purpose; and he displayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was fo much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thousand horse. The cardinal of Lorraine and the chancellor Alençon met him at Boulogne: Francis himself, besides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place where he came liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced fome miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary; and as the emperor feemed to be taking fome steps towards affembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but during the interval of the pope's captivity to govern the churches in their respective dominions by their own authority. Wolfey made fome attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitless, he was obliged, though with

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CHAP. great reluctance, to defilt from these ambitious

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THE more to cement the union between thefe 18th Sept. princes, a new treaty was some time after concluded at London; in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical. but which often ferved as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thoufand crowns a year to Henry and his fuccessors; and that greater folemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their affent to it. The marefchal Montmorency, accompanied by many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was fent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade which fuited the folemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animofity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealoufy to the English. W bedoeviger ad of read

This cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embaffy which they fent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to fubmit entirely to the conditions infifted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ranfom of the French princes; but he required, previously to their liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortreffes held by him in Italy: And he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confifcating the dutchy of Milan, on

trivial incidents, and men, on any afrost of injury ni battopar me Burnet, book 3. colora, basedt inquert

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account of his pretended treason. The English and CHAP. French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation: but to the French he reproached his mafter with breach of faith, reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove, by fingle combat, that he had acted dishonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge, by giving Charles the lie; and after demanding fecurity of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by fingle combat. Many meffages paffed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards during that age zealoufly disputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince, the more candid, generous, and fincere, should by unhappy incidents have been reduced to fo cruel a fituation, that nothing but his violation of treaty could preferve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promife by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and in land though it added influence to the journative

Bur thoughthis famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate consequence with regard to these monarchs themselves, it produced a confiderable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on very solemn occasions, and which was sometimes countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the most trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in honour.

CHAP. honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating their right in fingle combat. These absurd, though generous maxims, shed much of the best blood in Christendom during more than two centuries; and notwithstanding the severity of law and authority of reason, such is the prevailing force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

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want to panel authors before the reforms. XXX. tion, the marriage of H was with Carpoine of 17270 Arrayon, his brother's widow had not pailed scruples thour much ferunic and difficulty. The brein- concern-

lices of the people were an amend bent agreefing : rodingest union between facts near relations; and mariage he late kines, though he had betrothed his fon: shor that million was but twill be years of non-rave "

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Scruples concerning the king's marriage ___ The king enters into these scruples - Anne Boleyn -Henry applies to the pope for a divorce-The pope favourable—The emperor threatens him The pope's ambiguous conduct—The cause evoked to Rome—Wolsey's fall—Commencement of the reformation in England—Foreign affairs—Wolsey's death—A parliament—Progress of the reformation—A parliament— King's final breach with Rome --- A parliament.

OTWITHSTANDING the fubmissive deference CHAP. paid to papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not paffed Scruples without much fcruple and difficulty. The preju-concerndices of the people were in general bent against a king's conjugal union between fuch near relations; and marriage. the late king, though he had betrothed his fon when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling the contract. He ordered the young prince, as foon as he came of age. to enter a protestation against the marriage "; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance so unusual, and

t Morison's Apomaxis, p. 13.

[&]quot; Morison, p. 13. Heylin's Queen Mary, p. 2. 17

CHAP. exposed to fuch insuperable objections. After the king's accession some members of the privy council, particularly Warham the primate, openly declared against the resolution of completing the marriage; and though Henry's youth and diffipation kept him during fome time from entertaining any fcruples with regard to the measure which he had embraced, there happened incidents sufficient to rouse his attention, and to inform him of the sentiments generally entertained on that subject. The states of Castile had opposed the emperor Charles's espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and, among other objections, had infifted on the illegitimate birth of the young princess. And when the negotiations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambaffador, revived the same objection. But though these events naturally raised some doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other causes, which tended much to increase his remorfe, and render his confcience more fcrupulous. It or structure bed enived

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THE queen was older than the king by no less these scru- than fix years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though the had borne him feveral children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The fuccession too of the crown was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness Fisher bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared,

[&]quot; Lord Herbert, Fiddes's Life of Wolfey.

of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it C HAP. was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her fex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. The evils as yet recent, of civil wars and convulsions, arising from a disputed title, made great impression on the minds of men, and rendered the people univerfally defirous of any event which might obviate so irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private passions, and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was esteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

HENRY afterwards affirmed that his scruples arose entirely from private reflection; and that, on confulting his confessor the bishop of Lincoln, he found the prelate possessed with the same doubts and difficulties. The king himfelf, being fo great a cafuift and divine, next proceeded to examine the question more carefully by his own learning and fludy; and having had recourse to Thomas of Aquine, he obferved that this celebrated doctor, whose authority was great in the church, and absolute with him, had one state treated of that very cafe, and had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages. The prohibitions, faid Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the rest that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine fanction; and though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be fet afide by any authority less than that which enacted them. The archbishop of Canterbury was then applied to; and he was required to confult his brethren: All the prelates of England, except Fisher bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared

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* Lord Herbert, Fiddes's Life of Wolfey. e q allyof Burnet, Fiddes low rately H &

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CHAP. under their hand and feal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful . Wolfey also fortified the king's fcruples'; partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew: partly defirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis, by marrying him to the dutchess of Alencon, fifter to that monarch; and perhaps, too, fomewhat difgusted with the queen herfelf, who had reproved him for certain freedoms unbefitting his character and station b. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the fuggestions of that powerful favourite.

Anne Boleyn,

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being feen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire afcendant over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her fo celebrated, was daughter of fir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in feveral embaffies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather fir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and co-heirs of lord Haftings c. Anne herfelf, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's fifter, when the princes espoused Lewis XII. of France; and upon the demise of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damfel, whose accomplishments even in her tender years were always

² Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548.

² Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 46. 166. 168. Saunders. Heylin, p. 4.

b Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Strype, vol. i. p. 88.

c Camden's Preface to the Life of Elizabeth. Burnet, vol. i. p. 44. much

much admired, was retained in the service of Claude C HAP queen of France, spouse to Francis; and after the death of that princes she passed into the family of the dutchess of Alencon, a woman of fingular merit. The exact time when the returned to England is not certainly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulness of hismarriage with Catherine; if the account is to be credited which he himself afterwards gave of that transaction. Henry's scruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the frequent visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplishments of her mind no wife inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the defign of raifing her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this resolution, when he found that her virtue and modefty prevented all hopes of gratifying his passion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy, feemed thus to concur in making the king defirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his prospect of success was inviting, he refolved to make application to Clement, and he fent Knight, his fecretary, to Rome for that purpofe.

THAT he might not shock the haughty claims of Henry apthe pontiff, he resolved not to found the application plies to the on any general doubts concerning the papal power to divorce. permit marriage in the nearer degrees of confanguinity; but only to infift on particular grounds of nullity in the bull which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that if the pope be surprised into any concession, or grant any indulgence upon false suggestions, the bull mayafterwards be annulled; and this pretence had usually been employed where-

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C HAP. ever one pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his predecessors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind; and any tribunal favourable to Henry needed not want a specious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was faid in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his folicitation; though it was known that at that time he was under twelve years of age: It was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requifite, in order to preferve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. These false premises in Julius's bull seemed to afford Clement a sufficient reason or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a dispensation for a second marriage d.

The pope favourable.

Bur though the pretext for this indulgence had been less plausible, the pope was in such a situation that he had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. He was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reafonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose the ambition of Charles. When the English secretary, therefore, folicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer; and a dispensation was forthwith promiled to be granted to his master ... Soon after the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where the fecretary, with fir Gregory Caffali, the king's refident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They still found him full of high professions

e Burnet, vol. i. p. 47.

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⁴ Collier, Ecclef. Hift. vol. ii. p. as. from the Cott. Lib. Vitel. p. g.

of friendship, gratitude, and attachment to the CHAP. king; but not so prompt in granting his request as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise from the pope, to take no steps in the affair before he communicated them to the Imperial ministers; and Clement, embarrassed by this promife, and ftill more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, feemed willing to postpone those concessions defired of him by Henry. Importuned. however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a commission to Wolfey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury. or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's difpenfation : He also granted them a provisional difpenfation for the king's marriage with any other person; and promifed to iffue a decretal bull, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he represented to them the dangerous confequences which must ensue to him, if thefe concessions should come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers, or make any further use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to fecure his liberty and independence. And his fecret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time for opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing fome other person. Nor would it be so difficult, he faid, for himself to confirm these proceedings after they were passed, as previously to render them valid by his confent and authority .

WHEN Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his

f Rymer, vol. xiv. 237.

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ministers.

Burnet, vol. 1, p. 17.

1 528.

⁸ Collier, from Cott. Lib. Vitell. B. 10.

C H A P. ministers, and asked their opinion in so delicate a fituation. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in fo clandestine a manner, the king would find his fecond marriage totally invalidated; the children, which it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever h. And Henry's apprehensions of the posfibility, or even probability, of fuch an event, were much confirmed when he reflected on the character

and fituation of the fovereign pontiff.

CLEMENT was a prince of excellent judgment, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely fubject, allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed. The captivity and other misfortunes which he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination. that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour in any public measure; especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The Imperial forces were at that time powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless and exposed to the fame calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to perils, which threatened still more immediately his person and his dignity.

The emperor threatens him.

CHARLES, apprifed of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of fummoning a general council; which he represented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those enormous abuses which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every

Father Paul, lib. 1. Guicciardini. h Burnet, vol. i. p. 55. branch

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branch of ecclefiaftical administration. The power CHAP. of the fovereign pontiff himself, he said, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled might justly be called in question. That pope had always passed for the natural son of Julian of Medicis, who was of the fovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X. his kinfman had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promife of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority k. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely filent with regard to the promotion of bastards to the papal throne; but what was still dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepoffession that this stain in the birth of any person was incompatible with so holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was express and positive, that no man guilty of simony could attain that dignity. A fevere bull of Julius II. had added new fanctions to this law, by declaring, that a fimoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a posterior consent of the cardinals. But unfortunately Clement had given to Cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promifes of advancing that cardinal, in case he himself should attain the papal dignity by his concurrence: And this billet, Colonna, who was in entire dependence on the emperor, threatened every moment to expose to public view !.

WHILE Charles terrified the pope with these menaces, he also allured him by hopes which were no less prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces facked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, passionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his distresses, and, revolting against the family of

k Father Paul, lib.i.

1 Ibid.

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C H A P. Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority in Florence, and re-established the democracy. The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England. and Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied from affilting him in the re-Storation of his family: the event which, of all others, he most passionately defired. The emperor alone, he knew was able to effect this purpole: and therefore, whatever professions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse of hope, ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch "... a religional

> THESE views and interests of the pope were well known in England; and as the opposition of the

emperor to Henry's divorce was foreseen, both on account of the honour and interests of Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dangerous to take any measure of confequence, in expectation of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whose behaviour always contained to much duplicity, and who was at prefent fo little at his own disposal. The fafest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him to far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important conceffions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's fecretary, and Edward Fox, roth Feb, the king's almoner, were dispatched to Rome, and were ordered to folicit a commission from the pope. of fuch a nature as would oblige him to confirm the fentence of the commissioners, whatever it should be, and disable him on any account to recal the commission, or evoke the cause to Rome" Hallots

m Father Paul. Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29. in . the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93. with App. No 23, 24, &c. 11 a Herbert, p. car.

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Bur the same reasons which made the king so CHAP. defirous of obtaining this concession, confirmed the pope in the resolution of refusing it: He was still determined to keep the door open for an agreement The pope's with the emperor; and he made no scruple of facri- cus conficing all other confiderations to a point which he duct. deemed the most effential and important to his own fecurity, and to the greatness of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolfey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to infert the clause defired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter promifing not to recal the prefent commission; this promife was found, on examination, to be couched in fuch ambiguous terms as left him still the power, whenever he pleafed, of departing from it "coragens

Campegero day under fome obligations to the king; but his dependence on the pope was fo much greater, that he conformed himself entirely to the views of the latter; and though he received his commission in April, he delayed his departure under fo many pretences that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took was to exhort the king to defift from the profecution of his divorce; and finding that this counfel gave offence, he faid, that his intention was also to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent. and that he thought it his duty previously to attempt an amicable composure of all differences?. The more to pacify the king, he shewed to him as del the also to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no intreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the fecret de In order to atone in fome degree for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal, the pope's great defire

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diw . C . Lord Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59. d . bellos sal

⁹ Burnet, p. 58. P Herbert, p. 425.

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C H A P. of fatisfying them in every reasonable demand; and in particular, he showed, that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees, had obtained the confent of his holiness '.

> THESE ambiguous circumstances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with patience the iffue of fuch uncertain councils. Fortune, meanwhile, feemed to promife him a more fure and expeditious way of extricating himfelf from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues for electing his fuccessor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolfey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter'; and it appears, that if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that fuminit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after feveral relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amused the court of England. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promifed him a fudden and favourable iffue to his process: He still continued his fecret negotiations with Charles, and perfevered in the resolution of facrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artful delays; and gave Clement full leifure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

THE emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earnestness in this affair, was determined that he should obtain success by no other means than by

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r Rymer, vol. xiv, p. 270. Strype, vol. i. p. 110, 111. pend. No 38, 8 Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

an application to him, and by deferting his alliance CHAP. with Francis, which had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt: and promifing her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and perfecutions of her enemies. The queen herfelf was naturally of a firm and resolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to persevere in protesting against the injustice to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation: The illegitimacy of her daughter, which feemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern: The reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, she believed, had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these considerations, she never ceased soliciting her nephew's assistance, and earnestly intreating an evocation of the cause to Rome. where alone she thought she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negotiations with the pope, made the recall of the commission which Campeggio and Wolfey exercifed in England a fundamental article '.

THE two legates, meanwhile, opened their court 31st May. at London, and cited the king and queen to appear the king's before it. They both presented themselves; and the marriage. king answered to his name when called; But the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from herfeat, and throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. She told him that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without affiltance; exposed to all the injustice which

t Herbert, p. 225, Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

CHAP. her enemies were pleased to impose upon her: That fhe had quitted her native country without other resource than her connexions with him and his fanuly, and had expected that, inflead of fuffering thence any violence or iniquity, the was affured in them of a fafeguard against every misfortune: That the had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himfelf, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited better treatment, than to be thus, after fo long a time, thrown from him with fo much indignity: That the was confcious—he himfelf was affured—that her virgin honour was yet unstained, when he received her into his bed, and that her connexions with his brother had been carried no farther than the ceremony of marriage: That their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were efteemed the wifest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now reprefented as fo criminal and unnatural; And that she acquiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court, whose dependence on her enemies was too visible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision . Having spoken these words. fhe rose, and making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again or new critish is nest provide appear in it.

AFTER her departure, the king did her the justice to acknowledge, that the had ever been a dufiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenour of her behaviour had been conformable to the Ariefelt rules of probity and honour. He only infifted on his own fcruples with regard to the lawfulness of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progress, and the foundation of those

W Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall. Stowe, p. 543.

doubts, by which he had been fo long and fo vio- C HAP. lently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolfey from having any hand in encouraging his scruples; and he craved a fentence of the court agreeable to the justice of his cause. In it to enterior a so well

THE legates, after citing the queen anew, declared her contumacious, notwithstanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cause. The first point which came before them was the proof of prince Arthur's confummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it must be confessed, that no stronger arguments could reafonably be expected of fuch a fact after fo long an interval. The age of the prince, who had paffed his fifteenth year, the good state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his confort. many of his expressions to that very purpose; all these circumstances form a violent presumption in favour of the king's affertion". Henry himself, after his brother's death, was not allowed for some time to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: The Spanish ambassador, in order the better to enfure possession of her jointure. had fent over to Spain proofs of the confummation of her marriage": Julius's bull itself was founded on the supposition that Arthur had perhaps had knowledge of the princes: In the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the confummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur is acknowledged on both fides y. These particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reasonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and against his power of granting a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard these doctrines with great impatience; and, notwithstanding his resolution to protract the cause, he was often aloda to a martinal altabate.

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35.

y Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 81,

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CHAP, tempted to interrupt and filence the king's counsel, when they infifted on fuch difagreeable topics. The trial was foun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolfey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court; because it was thought that a trial managed by an Italian cardinal would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality, than if the king's own minister and favourite had presided in it. The business now seemed to be drawing near to a period: and the king was every day in expectation of a fentence in his favour; when, to his great furprife, Campeggio, on a fudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences, prorogued the court till the first of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of fuccess which the king had

The cause evoked to Rome.

fo long and fo anxiously cherished .

During the time that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had, by his ministers, earnestly solicited Clement to evoke the cause; and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambaffadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications, that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; but though they employed the fame engines of promises and menaces, the motives which they could fet before the pope were not fo urgent or immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor . The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by fo confiderable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety for his personal

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² Burnet, vol. i. p. 76, 77.

Burnet, vol. i. p. 75.

⁴ Herbert, p. 254.

fafety, and the fond defire of restoring the Medicis C HAP, to their dominion in Florence. As foon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of justice, which required him, as he afferted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and fuspending the commission of the legates, he adjourned the cause to his own personal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had, before-hand, received private orders delivered by Campana to burn the decretal bull with which he was entrusted.

Wolsey had long foreseen this measure as the fure forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at first defired that the king should rather marry a French princess than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himfelf with the utmost assiduity and earnestness to bring the affair to a happy iffue': He was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unprosperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. But he had fufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination or diffinction, to make his ministers answerable for the fuccess of those transactions with which they were entrusted. Anne Boleyn also, who was prepossessed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and as she was newly returned to court, whence the had been removed from a regard to decency during the trial before the legates. the had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry, and she served much to fortify his prejudices against the cardinal d. Even the queen and her partitans, judging of Wolfey by the part which he had openly acted, had expressed great animosity against him; and the most opposite factions seemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty minister. The high opinion itself, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity, tended to haften

c Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol, i, p. 53.

Cavendish, p. 40.

XXX. 1329.

CHAP. his downfal; while he imputed the bad fuccels of that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to mistake, but to the malignity or insidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not instantly on his head. The king, who probably could not justify by any good reason his alienation from his ancient favourite, feems to have remained fome time in suspense; and he received him, if not with all his former kindness, at least with the appearance of trust and regard. w beam to must small

Wolfey's fall.

18th Oct.

BUT constant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence and affection receives the least diminution, without finking into absolute indifference, or even running into the opposite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were fent to require the great feal from him; and on his ferupling to deliver it without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was furrendered, and it was delivered by the king to fir Thomas More, a man who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity, and capacity.

Wolsey was ordered to depart from York-Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the fee of York, was feized by Henry, and became afterwards the refidence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also feized: Their riches and splendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of filver: He had a cupboard of plate of maffy gold; There were found a thousand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The rest of his riches and fur-

Cavendiff, p. 41. 1 q .1 .lov , eqvil? 2 & Carendin Pares 7. 519.

nitire

probably, no small inducement to this violent per-

fecution against him.

THE cardinal was ordered to retire to Asher, a country feat which he possessed near Hampton-Court. The world that had paid him such abject court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him on this fatal reverse of all his fortunes. He himself was much dejected with the change; and from the fame turn of mind which had made him be fo vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the stroke of adversity with double rigour . The fmallest appearance of his return to favour threw him into transports of joy unbecoming a man The king had feemed willing, during fome time. to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in pofferfion of the fees of York and Winchester. He even fent him a gracious message accompanied with a ring, as a teltimony of his affection. Wolfey, who was on horseback when the messenger met him. immediately alighted; and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him 8. Regrit and capacity.

But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceased plying the king with accounts of his several offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavours in conjunction with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinstated in his former authority. He dismissed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and as he was a kind and beneficent master, the separation passed not without a plentiful effusion of tears on both sides. The king's heart, notwithstanding some gleams of kindness, seemed now totally hardened against his old

f Strype, vol. i. p. 114, 115. App. N° 31, &c.

Stowe, p. 547. A Cavendish. Stowe, p. 549.

XXX. 1529.

Novemb.

CHAP. favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a fentence was passed against him. And, not content with this feverity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again affembled. The house of lords voted a long charge against Wolfey, confifting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment, and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge in the upper house: No evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and as it chiefly confifts of general accufations, it was fearcely susceptible of any i. The articles were fent down to the house of commons; where Thomas Cromwel, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with fuch spirit, generofity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the

Wolsey's enemies finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him; that, contrary to a statute of Richard II. commonly called the statute of provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legantine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law; but besides that this statute had fallen into disuse. nothing could be more rigorous and fevere, than to impute to him as a crime what he had openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the confent and approbation of the king, and the ac-

i See note [C] at the end of the volume.

quiescence of the parliament and kingdom: Not C H A P. to mention what he always afferted k, and what we can fearcefy doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the most formal manner, which, had he not been apprehensive of the dangers attending any opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced against him, "That he was out of the king's protection; his " lands and goods forfeited; and that his perfor " might be committed to custody." But this profecution of Wolfey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued from time to time to drop expressions of

favour and compassion towards him.

THE complaints against the usurpations of the Commenceecclefiaftics had been very ancient in England, as ment of well as in most other European kingdoms; and as the rethis topic was now become popular every where, it in Enghad paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and re- land. conciled the people in some measure to the frightful idea of herefy and innovation. The commons, finding the occasion favourable, passed several bills restraining the impositions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another against the exactions for the probates of wills; a third against non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen's being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the ecclefiaftical order, were the fevere invectives thrown out almost without opposition in the house against the dissolute lives of the priests, their ambition, their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert " has even preserved the speech of a gentleman of

k Cavendish, p.72.

quielcence

¹ These exactions were quite arbitrary, and had risen to a great beight. A member faid in the house, that a thousand marks had been exacted from him on that account. Hail, fol. 188. Strype, mufos 2d8 m P. 293. vol. i. p. 73.

C H A P. Gray's-Inn, which is of a fingular nature, and contains fuch topics as we should little expect to meet with during that period. The member infifts upon the vast variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endless inextricable controversies maintained by the several fects; the impossibility that any man, much less the people, could ever know, much less examine, the tenets and principles of every feet; the necessity of ignorance, and a suspense of judgment with regard to all those objects of dispute: And upon the whole he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one supreme Being, the author of nature; and the necessity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such fentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced without some precaution in a public affembly. But though the first broaching of religious controversy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few persons of a studious disposition; the zeal with which men soon after attached themselves to their several parties, served effectually to banish for a long time all such obnoxious liberties.

THE bills for regulating the clergy met with fome opposition in the house of lords. Bishop Fisher, in particular, imputed these measures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed defign derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in fevere and even fomewhat indecent terms. He told him that the greatest clerks were not always the wifelt men. But Fisher teplied, that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the bishop of Rochester's speech stopped The commons, by the mouth of fir not there. Thomas Audley, their speaker, made complaints

to the king of the reflections thrown upon them; char and the billion was obliged to pur a more flyourable confined in during that period. * abrow will him that period.

HENRY was not displeased that the court of Rome and the clergy thould be fentible that they were en! tirely dependent on him, and that his parliament, if he were willing to fecond their inclinations, was fur ficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclefiaftics. The commons gratified the him a discharge of all those debts which he had com? tracted fince the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money which he had borrowed in the public fervice. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well pleased to take the opportunity of mulcting them . Several also approved of an expedient which they hoped would ever after differedit a method of supply to irregular and to unparliamentary.

THE domestic transactions of England were at Foreign present so interesting to the king, that they chiefly affairs. engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands, had engaged him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercifed no hoffility against any of the Imperial dominions. A general peace was this fummer effa-

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n Parliamentary Hiltory, vol. ii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82.

Burnet, vol. iinpesst of anno mob and a steril store

CHAP. blished in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louisa of Savoy met at Cambray, and fettled the term's of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hostages. Henry was on this occasion fo generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he fent him an acquittal of near 600,000 crowns which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not fo well fatiffied as the king with the peace of Cambray: They were almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor; and feemed to have no means of fecurity left but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave relistance, was subdued by the Imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated: they were only obliged to relinquish some acquisitions which they had made on the coast of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already by his vigour and capacity fucceeded in every enterprife. and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe, the one spiritual the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognostications were formed of his growing empire.

Bur though Charles feemed to be prosperous on every fide, and though the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money under which he had hithero laboured, he found himself threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his defire of furmounting them was the chief cause of his granting fuch moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solyman, the greatest and

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most accomplished prince that ever fat on the Otto: CHAP. man throne, had almost entirely subdued Hungary, had besieged Vienna, and though repulsed, still menaced the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria with conquest and subjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of confcience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and because they protested against the votes passed in the Imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of protestants. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of fecuring the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme for aggrandifing his own family, by extending its domi-

nion over all Germany.

THE friendship of Henry was one material circumstance yet wanting to Charles, in order to ensure fuccess in his ambitious enterprises; and the king was fufficiently apprifed, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce; that point which had long been the object of his most earnest wishes. But besides that the interests of his kingdom feemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty spirit could not submit to a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and as he had ever been accustomed to receive courtship, deference, and folicitation from the greatest potentates, he could ill brook that dependance to which this unhappy affair feemed to have reduced him. Amids the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a superstitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely that his personal experience of the duplicity and felfish politics of Clement had served much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly established at home: He observed,

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that

CHAP, that his people were in general much difgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclefiastical order: He knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his profecution of the divorce, and highly referted the unworthy treatment which, after fo many fervices and fuch devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not fail to use all her efforts, and employ every infinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities against the pope; both as it was the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the dutchess of Alencon, a princess inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But notwithstanding thefe inducements, Henry had strong motives still to defire a good agreement with the fovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of fuch great innovations: He dreaded the repreach of herefy: He abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: And having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined. in defence of the Romith communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

The universities confulted about the king's marriage.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that univerfity for his learning, and still more for the candour and difinterestedness of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now fecretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or

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extort the pope's confent, would be to confult all CHAP. the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: If they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorfes would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to refift the folicitations of fo great a monarch, feconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom P. When the king was informed of the propofal, he was delighted with it; and fwore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right fow by the ear: He fent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and underflanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in profecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the univerfities in Europe.

HAD the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of found philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason why marriages in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral fentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preferve purity of manners; while they reflect, that if a commerce of love were authorifed between near relations. the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary confiderably, and open an intercourse more or less restrained between different families, or between the feveral members of the fame family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its caufe, is susceptible, without any inconvenience. of very different latitude in the feveral ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between persons

P. Fox, p. 1860, 2d edit. Burnet, vol. i. p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p. 5.

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C H A P. of different fexes, except where they lived under the fame roof; and even the apartments of a step-mother and her daughters were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons, as against those from any stranger or more distant relation: Hence, in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry not only his niece, but his half-fifter by the father: A liberty unknown to the Romans and other nations, where a more open intercourse was authorifed between the fexes. Reasoning from this principle it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes is fo obstructed by ceremony and numerous attendants that no ill confequence would refult among them from marrying a brother's widow; especially if the dispensation of the supreme priest be previously required, in order to justify what may in common cases be condemned. and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as strong motives of public interest and tranquillity may frequently require fuch alliances between the foreign families, there is the less reason for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals 9.

Bur, in opposition to these reasons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had custom and precedent on his fide; the principle by which men are almost wholly governed in their actions and The marrying of a brother's widow was fo unusual, that no other instance of it could be found in any history or record of any Christian nation; and though the popes were accustomed to dispense with more effential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, fuch as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, without hesitation, as well as with-

⁹ See note [D] at the end of the volume.

out interest or reward', gave verdict in the king's C H A P. favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone and Cambridget, made fome difficulty; because these universities, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, and dreading a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their fanction to measures whose consequences they feared would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of a denial of justice ". The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense w. But Clement, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued to fummon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refused to submit to fuch a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high infult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. ther of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltshire, carried to the pope the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the first instance of disrespect from England, refused to kis his holiness's foot,

Wood, Hift. and Ant. Ox. lib. i. p. 225. Herbert. Burnet. u Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 405. Burnet, Burnet, vol. i. p. 6. w Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 454. 472. vol. i. p. 95.

CHAP. which he very graciously held out to him for that

purpose *.

THE extremities to which Henry was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order. were naturally disagreeable to cardinal Wolfey; and as Henry forefaw his opposition, it is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his renewing the profecution against his ancient favourite. After Wolfey had remained fome time at Asher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a present from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court: But the courtiers, dreading still his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his fee of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to refift: He took up his refidence at-Cawood in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hospitality; but he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolfey's ecclefiaftical character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was feized with a diforder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester-abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose A little before he expired he addressed himmore. felf in the following words to fir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody: "I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto " his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf " to call to his remembrance all matters that have

Plov, 28.

Burnet, vol. i. p. 94. y Cavendish. Stowe, p. 554.

[&]quot; paffed

55 paffed between us from the beginning, especially CHAP. with regard to his business with the queen; and "then will he know in his conscience whether I have I530.

" offended him.

" HE is a prince of a most royal carriage, and " hath a princely heart; and rather than he will " mifs or want any part of his will he will endanger

" the one half of his kingdom.

" I Do affure you, that I have often kneeled be-" fore him, fometimes three hours together, to per-" fuade him from his will and appetite; but could " not prevail: Had I but ferved God as diligently " as I have ferved the king, he would not have " given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the " just reward that I must receive for my indulgent " pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me advise " you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by " your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put " into the king's head: For you can never put it

" out again "."

Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character Wolsey's feems to have contained as fingular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favourite's measures have undergone; and when we consider, that the subsequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolfey's counfels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If in foreign politics he fometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes rather than his master's service, which he boafted he had folely at heart; we must remember

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CHAP. that he had in view the papal throne; a dignity which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a fuitable return for all his favours. The cardinal of Amboife, whose memory is refpected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was in some respect similar to Wolfey's; and we have reason to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death, when informed of it; and always spoke favourably of his memory: A proof that humour more than reason, or any difcovery of treachery, had occasioned the last perfecutions against him.

T531. r6th Jan. A parliament.

A NEW fession of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his extensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost obsolete, had been employed to ruin Wolfey, and render his exercife of the legantine power criminal, notwithstanding the king's permission; the same law was now turned against the ecclefiastics. It was pretended that every one who had submitted to the legantine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the statute of provifors; and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against them . The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppose reafon or equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain confequence of not submitting to Wolfey's commission, which was procured by Henry's confent, and fupported by his authority. They chose, therefore, to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay 118,840 pounds for a pardon b. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that the king was the protector and the supreme head

² Antiq. Brit. Ecclef. p. 325, Burnet, vol. i. p. 106.

b Hollingshed, p. 923.

of the church and clergy of England; though some CHAP. of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms, in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ.

XXX. 1531 ·

THE commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest either they should afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their fubmission to the legantine court, or a fupply in like manner be extorted from them in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remission to his lay subjects; but they met with a repulse. He told them, that if he ever chose to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodness, not from their application, left he should feem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this concession, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expressed great gratitude for that act of clemency c.

By this strict execution of the statute of provisors, a great part of the profit, and still more of the power of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connexions between the pope and the English clergy were in some measure dissolved. The next fession found both king and parliament in the same dispofitions. An act was passed against levying the an- 15th Jan. nates or first fruits d; being a year's rent of all the bishoprics that fell vacant: A tax which was im- Progress posed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to of the rethe new prelates, and which was found to amount to formation. confiderable fums. Since the fecond of Henry VII. no less than one hundred and fixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome on account of this claim; which the parliament, therefore, reduced to

c Hall's Chronicle. Hollingshed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208.

d Burnet, vol. i. Collect. No 41. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.

XXX. 1532.

CHAP. five per cent. on all the episcopal benefices. better to keep the pope in awe, the king was entrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleafure: And it was voted, that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome on account of that law should be entirely difregarded; and that mass should be said, and the sacraments administered,

as if no fuch centures had been iffued.

This fession the commons preferred to the king a long complaint against the abuses and oppressions of the ecclefiaftical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference arose, which put an end to the session before the parliament had finished all their business. It was become a custom for men to make such fettlements or trust-deeds of their lands by will, that they defrauded not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the same artifice the king was deprived of his premier feifin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconfiderable branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether this abuse: He was contented that every man should have the liberty of disposing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, " If they " would not take a reasonable thing when it was " offered, he would fearch out the extremity of " the law, and then would not offer them so much " again." The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: A fingular instance, where Henry might see that his power and authority, though extensive, had yet some boundaries. The commons, however, found reason to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ablest lawyers, who argued the question in chancery; and it was decided, that a man could not by law bequeath CHAP. any part of his lands in prejudice of his heir .

THE parliament being again affembled after a fhort prorogation, the king caused the two oaths to be April 10. read to them, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be fuspected between them, while the prelates feemed to fwear allegiance to two fovereigns, the parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were fuddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable that one Temfe ventured this fession to move, that the house should address the king to take back the queen. and stop the profecution of his divorce. This motion made the king fend for Audley the speaker; and explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had long been burdened; scruples, he faid, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring fentiments of all the learned focieties in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had espoused two fifters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man that had ever married his brother's widow g.

AFTER the prorogation fir Thomas More the chancellor, forefeeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, defired leave to refign the great feal; and he descended from this high station with more joy and

[·] Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. Hall. Parliamentary History.

f Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 124.

⁸ Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

C H A P. alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the fanctity of his manners, had no wife encroached on the gentleness of his temper, or even diminished that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. He fported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown: and neither the pride naturally attending a high station, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his serene and equal spirit. While his family discovered symptoms of forrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accustomed, he drew a fubiect of mirth from their diftreffes; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his refignation with fome difficulty: and he delivered the great feal foon after to fir Thomas Audley.

DURING these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without folicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom which of all others had long been the most devoted to the holy fee, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue. While the Imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate and impartial counsellors represented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had fignalifed himself both by his pen and his fword in the cause of the pope, should be denied a favour which he demanded on fuch just grounds, and which had scarcely ever before been refused to any person of his rank and station. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and feveral confistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined

mined not to fend any proxy to plead his cause before C HAP. this court: He only dispatched fir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excufators, fo they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he faid, must be facrificed if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and as the question regarded conscience, not power or interest, no proxy could supply his place, or convey that fatisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In order to support himself in this measure, and add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed 11th Oct. his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which he believed he had perfuaded Francis to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience from the bishop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having farther recourse to that see. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, 14th Nov. whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, foon after raifed to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were present at the ceremony h. Anne became pregnant foon after her marriage; and this event both gave great fatisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and virtue.

THE parliament was again affembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, A parliaproceeded still in those gradual and secure steps by ment.

1532.

h Herbert, p. 340, 341.

which

April 12.

CHAP. which they loofened their connexions with the fee of Rome, and repressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other fuits cognizable in ecclefialtical courts; appeals efteemed dishonourable to the kingdom, by Subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction; and found to be very vexatious, by the expence and the delay of justice which necessarily attended them. The more to show his difregard to the pope, Henry finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring by a formal sentence the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine: A fentence which ought naturally to have preceded his espousing of Anne *.

THE king, even amidst his scruples and remorfes on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavoured, by every foft and perfualive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her cause, he had totally forborne all visits and intercourse with her; and had defired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which the should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for fome time at Amphill, near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury on the death of War-10th May, ham', was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no anfwer to the citation, either by herfelf or proxy, she

was declared contumacious; and the primate pro-

^{1 24} Hen. VIII. c. 12.

k Collier, vol. ii. p. 31. and records, No 8.

I See note [E] at the end of the volume.

ceeded to the examination of the cause. The evi- CHAP. dences of Arthur's confummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the universities were read, together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after these preliminary steps Cranmer proceeded to a fentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who foon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity fuited to that ceremony m. To complete the king's fatiffaction on the conclusion of this intricate and vexations affair, she was safely delivered of a daughter, 7th Sept. who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards fwayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. Henry was fo much delighted with the birth of this child, that foon after he conferred on her the title of princess of Wales"; a step somewhat irregular, as she could only be presumptive, not apparent heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to bestow on the offspring of his present marriage the same mark of distinction, as well as to exclude the elder princess from all hopes of the succession. His regard for the new queen seemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage; and all men expected to fee the entire ascendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had fet her at fo great a distance, and who by a proper mixture of severity and indulgence had long managed fo intractable a fpirit as that of Henry. In order to efface as much as possible all marks of his first marriage, lord Mountjoy was fent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that she was thenceforth to be

1533.

m Heylin, p. 6.

n Burnet, vol. i. p. 134.

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treated only as princess-dowager of Wales; and all

means

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C H A P. means were employed to make her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit no person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generofity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions.

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy fee, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the Imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive fentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's fentence, as well as that of Henry's fecond marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if before the first of November ensuing he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood?. An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclufion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

THE pope had claims upon the dutchy of Ferrara for the fovereignty of Reggio and Modena 9; and, having fubmitted his pretentions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was furprifed to find a fentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to propofals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his fecond fon, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was fo much honoured. An interview was even appointed between the pope and French king at

P Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566.

Marfeilles ;

º Herbert, p. 326. Burnet, vol. i. p. 132.

⁹ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 133. Guicciardini.

Marseilles; and Francis as a common friend there CHAP. employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of

England.

HAD this connexion of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years fooner, there had been little difficulty in adjusting the quarrel with Henry. The king's request was an ordinary one; and the fame plenary power of the pope, which had granted a dispensation for his espousing of Catherine, could eafily have annulled the marriage. But in the progress of the quarrel the state of affairs was much changed on both fides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apostolic see; and finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his measures for breaking off foreign dependance, he had begun to relish his spiritual authority, and would scarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his submissions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifest risque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and as a fentence of divorce could no longer be rested on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be construed as an acknowledgment of t papal usurpations, it was foreseen that the Lutherans would thence take occasion of triumph, and would persevere more obstinately in their present principles. But notwithstanding these obstacles, Francis did not despair of mediating an agreement. He observed that the king had still some remains of prejudice in favour of the catholic church, and was apprehensive of the confequences which might enfue from too violent innovations. He faw the interest that Clement had in preferving the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped that these motives on both sides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

FRANCIS

CHAP.

Francis first prevailed on the pope to promise, that if the king would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he should appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and he should immediately afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce required of him. Bellay, bishop of Paris, was next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed, that if the king would sign a written agreement to

the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion. But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier who carried the king's written promise

King's final breach with Rome.

was detained beyond the day appointed: News was brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the pope and car-March 23. dinals. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory enslamed with anger; and by a precipitate fentence the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who

It is not probable that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper,

had been hurried from his usual prudence, found, that though he heartily repented of this hasty meafure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or

replace affairs on the fame footing as before.

It is not probable that the pope, had he con

Father Paul, lib. 1.

· Ibid.

could

could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have

CHAP. XXX. 15th Jan,

regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obstinate; and having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negotiating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained fo little hopes of fuccefs, or was fo indifferent about the event, that he had affembled a parliament, and continued to enact A parlialaws totally destructive of the papal authority. The ment. people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding fession had retrenched fomewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation that a general council was much fuperior to a pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocefe'. The proceedings of the parliament shewed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reafon to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable fentence from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his fecond marriage and the fuccession, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have furrendered to him any confiderable share of his assumed prerogative. The importance of the laws passed this fession, even before intelligence arrived of the violent resolutions taken at Rome, is fufficient to justify this opinion.

ALL payments made to the apostolic chamber; all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished: Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone: The law for punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited I534.

C H A P. from imprisoning or trying any person upon suspicion alone, without prefentment by two lawful witnesses; and it was declared, that to speak against the pope's authority was no herefy: Bishops were to be appointed by a congè d'elire from the crown, or in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishoprics of Salifbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed ": The law which had been formerly made against paying annates or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: And a submission which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this fession the fanction of parliament w. In this submisfion the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be affembled by the king's authority only; they promife to enact no new canons without his confent; and they agree that he should appoint thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate fuch as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative . An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in Chancery.

But the most important law passed this fession, was that which regulated the fuccession to the crown: The marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: The primate's fentence annulling it was ratified: And the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to defcend to the iffue of this marriage, and failing them to the king's March 30. heirs for ever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of fuccession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure,

u Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl.

W 25 H. 8. C. 19.

^{*} Collier, vol. ii. p. 69, 70.

and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all slander against the king, queen, or their iffue, was subjected to the penalty of misprision of treason. After these compliances the parliament was prorogued; and those acts, so contemptuous towards the pope, and so destructive of his authority, were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced his hasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment against queen Catherine, on account of her obstinacy, was the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of succeeding to the crown; contrary to his first intentions when he began the process of divorce, and of dispensation for a second marriage.

THE king found his ecclefiaftical fubjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: And they voted that the bishop of Rome had by the law of God no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority which he and his predecessors had there exercifed was only by usurpation, and by the sufferance of English princes. Four persons alone opposed this vote in the lower house, and one doubted. It passed unanimously in the upper. The bishops went fo far in their complaifance, that they took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependant on his good pleafure y.

THE oath regarding the fuccession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher was obnoxious on account

C H A P. of some practices into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, feems to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed that his authority would have influence on the fentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared that he had no scruple with regard to the fuccession, and thought that the parliament had full power to fettle it: He offered to draw an oath himself, which would ensure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law; because the preamble of that oath afferted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwel, now fecretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, entreated him to lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity feemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refusal z. He persisted, however, in a mild though firm manner, to maintain his refolution; and the king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower.

3d Nov.

THE parliament being again affembled, conferred on the king the title of the only supreme head on earth of the church of England; as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, " to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, cor-" rect, restrain, or amend all errors, herefies, " abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, " which fell under any spiritual authority or juris-" diction "." They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or fpeak evil against the king, queen, or

² Burnet, vol. i. p. 156.

^{2 26} H. 8. c. I.

his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their C HAP. dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a fubfidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fisher for misprission of treason. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the English laws.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for any human principles or preposseffions to fustain. Indulgencies had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy fee; but being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and opposition in Germany. The prerogative of granting dispensations had also contributed much to attach all the fovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unluckly concurrence of circumstances, was now the cause why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy introduced there a greater fimplicity in the government, by uniting the spiritual with the civil power, and preventing difputes about limits, which never could exactly be determined, between the contending jurisdictions. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitances of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which all human reason, policy, and industry had fo long been encumbered. The prince, it may be supposed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might fometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry,

CHAP. would be fure to retain it within tolerable limits. and prevent its abuses. And on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial confequences; though perhaps neither forefeen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

> WHILE Henry proceeded with fo much order and tranquillity in changing the national religion, and while his authority feemed entirely fecure in England, he was held in fome inquietude by the state of

affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

THE earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural fon, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accufed of fome violences against the family of Offory, his hereditary enemies, he was fummoned to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his fon, who hearing that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself to Oneale, Ocarrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen archbishop of Dublin, and laid fiege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in prison, and his son, persevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promifed him af-The king was obliged to fend over fome fiftance. forces to Ireland, which so haraffed the rebels, that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promifes, was reduced to the necesfity of furrendering himfelf prisoner to lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorfet. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction they were all brought to public justice; though two of the uncles, in order to fave the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

THE earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendant in Scotland; and having gotten possession of the

king's

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king's person, then in early youth, he was able, by C H A P. means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his confort, bred him great disturbance. For having feparated herfelf from him, on account of fome jealousies and disgusts, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was diffatisfied with the flavery to which he was reduced; and by fecret correspondence he incited firk Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprises failed of success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means at last of escaping to Stirling, where his mother then refided; and having fummoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit and valour in repressing those feuds, ravages, and diforders, which though they diffurbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed by that means to maintain national independency. He was defirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account fomewhat cold in hearkening to his propofals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped by means of fuch an ally to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scottish king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his fifter the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin the daughter

3534-

CHAP. of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter propofal, had it not upon reflection been found impracticable; and his natural propenfity to France at last prevailed over all other confiderations. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle Henry to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms, and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himfelf in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refusing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any personal negociations with an enemy of the holy see. From these measures Henry easily concluded, that he could very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But those events took not place till some time after our present period.

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CHAP. XXXI.

Religious principles of the people—of the king—of the ministers—Farther progress of the reformation -Sir Thomas More-The maid of Kent-Trial and execution of Fisher bishop of Rochesterof fir Thomas More - King excommunicated - Death of queen Catherine - Suppression of the leffer monasteries - A parliament -A convocation - Translation of the Bible -Difgrace of Queen Anne - Her trial - and execution—A parliament—A convocation— Discontents among the people-Insurrection-Birth of prince Edward, and death of queen Jane -Suppression of the greater monasteries - Cardinal Pole.

HE ancient and almost uninterrupted oppo- C H A P. sition of interests between the laity and clergy XXXI. in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had fufficiently prepared the nation Religious for a breach with the fovereign pontiff; and men of the had penetration enough to discover abuses, which people. were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive These subjects seemed proportioned of their own. to human understanding; and even the people, who felt the power of interest in their own breast, could perceive the purpose of those numerous inventions which the interested spirit of the Roman pontiss had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature

CHAP. of the facraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were during fome time at a lofs how to chuse their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived. and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a fincere but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents. which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As foon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for fuch disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions: Hence their seeming prostitution, in facrificing to prefent power the most facred principles: And hence the rapid progrefs during fome time, and the fudden as well as entire check foon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once fettled in their particular fects, and had fortified themselves in a habitual detestation of those who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

NOTHING more forwarded the first progress of the reformers, than the offer which they made, of fubmitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the fummons given every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleafed with it. They fancied that they were exercifing their judgment, while they opposed to the prejudices of an-

cient

cient authority, more powerful prejudices of another CHAP. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleafure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience and even alacrity in fuffering perfecution, death, and torments; a disgust at the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people, and by fuch confiderations were men fo generally induced during that age to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared in some respects dangerous to the rights of fovereigns, and feemed to destroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of shaking fo ancient and deep founded an establishment as that of the Romish hierarchy might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican fpirit which naturally took place among the reformers increased this jealousy. The furious infurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptists in Germany, furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore fuch apprehensions were altogether without any shadow of plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquiesce implicitly in those establishments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himself, in his

Of the king.

CHAP. own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclefiaftical powers; and there was small likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging fedition could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But besides this political jealoufy, there was another reason which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his fentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those fcholastic quarrels, he had received from his courtiers and theologians infinite applause for his performance. Elated by this imaginary fuccess, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his fentiments. Luther also had been so imprudent as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made the most humble fubmissions to Henry, and apologized for the webemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of herefy Itill appeared deteltable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilft his refentment against the see of Rome had corrected one confiderable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquish the remainder. Separate as he flood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and fword the imagined purity of his speculative principles. The garren of our direct of

Of the ministers.

dought

HENRY's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and feemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as

See note [F] at the end of the volume. ted authorized bat

well

well as inclination, favoured the cause of the re- CHAP. formers: Cromwell, who was created fecretary of XXXI. state, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the fame views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had fecretly adopted the protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and fincerity; virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and oppressed by tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had inlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it.

ALL these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to each other, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the fentiments of their master. Cromwell and Granmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's refentment to widen the breach with the fee of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an affent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the fovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for the catholic faith; and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. Both fides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party: The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled by the courtship paid him both by protestants and catholics to assume an unbounded authority: And Vol. IV. though

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C H A P. though in all his measures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he cafually steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrify, in his fituation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them referve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: But while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious passions, each side dreaded to lofe him by the fmallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him cordially and fully into their intereffs.

THE ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, ferved in the main to encourage the protestan: doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation with which the age was generally feized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady feverity in the administration, could be able to reprefs. There were fome Englishmen, Tindal, Tove. Constantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp 4, where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces ferved, during fome time, to give them protection. These men employed themselves in writing English books against the corformation. ruptions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiofity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other protestants, they afferted that falvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most

Farther progress of the re-

IVERLINY

Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

infallible

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infallible road to perdition was a reliance on good C H A P. works; by which terms they understood as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monaftic obfervances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of good works; but though they did not exclude from this appellation the focial virtues, it was still the superstitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books composed by these fugitives, having stolen over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the scriptures by Tindal that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy. was found liable to confiderable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lofe a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made fensible. Tonstal, then bishop of London, foon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being defirous to discourage in the gentlest manner these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapfide. By this measure he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great fcandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the word of to give then protection

THE disciples of the reformation met with little feverity during the ministry of Wolfey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore too small a regard to the ecclesiastical order to serve as an instrument of their

[·] Sacrilegium est et impietas velle placere Deo per opera et non per folam fidem. Luther adversus regem. Ita vides quam dives fit homo Christianus five baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere falutem fuam quantiscunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare nui incredulitas. Id. de captibutate Pabylonica.

f Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 138. Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

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1534.

Sir Tho-More.

C H A P. tyranny: It was even an article of impeachment against him , that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of herefy, and that he had protected and acquitted fome notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who fucceeded Wolfey as chancellor, is at once an object deferving our compaffion, and an instance of the usual progress of men's fentiments during that age. This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles which even at prefent would be deemed somewhat too free, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their profecution of herefy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greatest severity. Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house: and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his prefence, and afterwards fent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in embraced the faggots which were to be bladdim?

MANY were brought into the bishops' courts for. offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as fymbols of the party: Some for teaching

[&]amp; Articles of Impeachment in Herbert. Burnet.

Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

their children the Lord's prayer in English; others CHAP. for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages. To harbour the perfecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a prieft, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was so haunted by remorfe that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last his mind seemed to be more relieved; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the resolution which he had taken of expiating his past offence by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their falvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowle of St. Francis, to the prayers of the faints, or to images. He was foon feized, tried in the bishops' court, and condemned as a relapfed heretic; and the writ was fent down to burn him. When brought to the stake, he difcovered fuch patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his penishment; and some mendicant friars who. were prefent, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them lofe those alms which they received from the charity of the people, . defired him publicly to acquit them of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and by this meekness gained the more on the sympathy of the people. Another person still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real prefence, feemed almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots which were to be the inftruments of his punishment, as the means of procuring him eternal reft. In fhort, the tide turning towards garded as fymbols of the party: Some for teaching

Burnet, vol. i. p. 164.

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CHAP. the new doctrine, those fevere executions, which, in another disposition of men's minds, would have fufficed to suppress it, now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting perfecutors.

But though Henry neglected not to punish the protestant doctrine, which he deemed herefy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the affurance to tell him, "That many "lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a " true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would " lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's"." The king took no notice of the infult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who juftified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a flanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets, who fought to establish by adultery the fuccession of the crown; but that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry filenced the petulant friar; but showed no other mark of refentment than ordering Peyto and him to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence. He even here bore patiently fome new instances of their obstinacy and arrogance: When the earl of Effex, a privy counfellor, told them, that they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elston replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land ".

Burnet, vol, i. p. 151.

k Strype, vol. i. p. 167. Collier, vol. ii. p. 86. m Stowe, p. 562.

Bur feveral monks were detected in a conspiracy, C H A P. which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its discovery attended with more 1534. fatal consequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton The Maid of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the boly of Kent. Maid of Kent, had been subject to hysterical fits. which threw her body into unufual convultions; and having produced an equal diforder in her mind. made her utter strange favings, which, as she was scarcely conscious of them during the time, had foon after entirely escaped her memory. The filly people in the neighbourhood were struck with thefe appearances, which they imagined to be fupernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a defigning fellow, founded on them a project from which he hoped to acquire both profit and confideration. He went to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he fo far wrought on that prudent but superstitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future fayings. regard paid her by a person of so high a rank soon rendered her still more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was easy for Masters to perfuade them, as well as the maid herfelf, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery, as is usual, foon after succeeding to delufion. she learned to counterfeit trances; and she then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual director. Masters affociated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was to raise the credit of an image of the Virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrimages as ufually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In profecution of this defign, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her

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CHAP. to have recourse to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the prefence of a great multitude, the fell anew into convultions; and after distorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, the affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the Virgin ". This miracle was foon bruited abroad; and the two priefts, finding the impostute to succeed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprifes. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated herely; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went fo far as to affert, that if he profecuted that defign, and married another, he should not be a king a month longer, and should not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty. but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the delution; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth . Miracles were daily added to increase the wonder; and the pulpit every where refounded with accounts of the fanctity and infpirations of the new prophetels. Meffages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princels was exhorted to perfilt in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambaffadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion fo favourable to the party which he had espoused. The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of Chronicles, Olsoni le

[&]quot; Strype, vol. i. p. 181. te d'esteun s'unabo her

her accomplices to be arrefted, he brought them CHAP. before the Star Chamber, where they freely, with out being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The parliament, in the fession held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable imposture ; and Elizabeth herself, Masters Bocking, Deering, Rich, Rifby, Gold, fuffered for their crime. The bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Lawrence, and others, were condemned for milprisson of treason; because they had not discovered fome criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth 4: And they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophetes's miracles was detected; and even the fcandalous profittution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions which so naturally infinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different fexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found; that a door to her dormitory, which was faid to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converfe with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes.

THE detection of this imposture, attended with fo many odious circumstances, both hurt the credit of the ecclefiaftics, particularly the monks, and in-Rigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exercised punishment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his

P 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. i. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220. Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

dignity

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CHAP. dignity or titles: They had lately added to his other titles, that of supreme head of the church: It was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that nowife affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament in passing this law had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed: But the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it treason to deny what during many ages it had been herefy to affert, is an event. which may appear fomewhat extraordinary. Even the stern unrelenting mind of Henry was at first shocked with these sanguinary measures; and he went fo far as to change his garb and drefs; pretending forrow for the necessity by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and defirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to confummate his lawless tyranny. sinnee from the whole

Trial and execution of Fisher bishop of Rochefter;

JOHN Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, still more than for his ecclefiaftical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into prison on account of his refusing the oath which regarded the succession, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable fpeeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes, and without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which scarcely sufficed to cover his nakedness'. In this condition he lay in

Fuller's Church Hift. book v. p. 203.

prison above a twelvementh; when the pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was fo indifferent about that dignity, that even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make the innocent person seel the effects of his refentment. Fisher was indicted for denying 22d June. the king's fupremacy, was tried, condemned, and ires people, thould be gover beheaded.

CHAP. XXXI. 1535.

THE execution of this prelate was intended as a of fir warning to More, whose compliance, on account More. of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiously defired by the king. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the fport of passions, was fusceptible of towards a man who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's fupremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor general, was fent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who kept a cautious filence with regard to the supremacy: He was only inveigled to fay, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was a two-edged fword: If a person answer one way, it will confound his foul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His filence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supre-

XXXI. 1535.

6th July.

CHAP, macy. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: The jury gave fentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, may his usual facetiousness, never forlook him; and he made a facrifice of his life to his integrity, with the fame indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the feaffold, he faid to one, "Friend, help me up, and when I come down again, let me shift for my-" felf." The executioner asking him forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is fo fhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard: "For," faid he, " it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition. But as the man followed his principles and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are not the less objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age. 110d. 10 WHEN the execution of Fisher and More was re-

> ported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invelted with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about fix months after he pronounced sentence against the king; and Paul III., of the name of Farnele, had fucceeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favoured Henry's cause, had hoped that, personal animofities being buried with his predeceffor, it might not be impossible to form

an agreement with England: And the king himself More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.

was fo defirous of accommodating matters, that in CHAP. a negotiation which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accustomed to prescribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating for peace, his usual violence often carried him to commit offences which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fisher was regarded by Paul as fo capital an injury, that he immediately paffed cenfures against the king, citing 30th Aug. him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes : If King exthey failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the cated. king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his iffue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; diffolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed his fubjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and declared it lawful for any one to feize them, to make flaves of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use'. But though these censures were passed, they were not at that time openly denounced: The pope delayed their publication till he should find an agreement with England entirely desperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard preffed by the Turks and the protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry the sentence into VIL had died about moitusexs

THE king knew that he might expect any injury which it should be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his refentment upon him . He renewed his friendship with Francis, and opened negotiations for marrying his

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an agreement with England: And the king himfelf

infant-

XXXI. I535.

CHAP. infant-daughter, Elizabeth, with the duke of Angouleme, third fon of Francis. The two monarchs also made advances to the princes of the protestant league in Germany, ever jeafous of the emperor's ambition: And Henry, besides remitting them some money, sent Fox bishop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay lord of Langley, to treat But during the first fervours of the rewith them. formation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of interests, to be effential to a good correspondence among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsburg, it was looked upon as a bad fymptom of their fincerity, that they exercised such extreme rigour against all preachers of the reformation in their respective dominions w. Henry carried the feint so far, that, while he thought himself the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melanchon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philosopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever reached equal applause and admiration with those wretched composers of metaphysical polemics. The German princes told the king that they could not spare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with fuch zealous disputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not affociate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they agreed in every thing else, they differed in some minute particulars with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on account of this refusal. He could also foresee, that even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in

concert with him, they would always be carried by CHAP. their interests to oppose the emperor: And the hatred between Francis and that monarch was fo in- 2535. veterate, that he deemed himself sure of a sincere

ally in one or other of these potentates.

DURING these negotiations an incident happened in England which promifed a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was feized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave: She died at Kimbolton in the county of Hunting- 6th Jan. don, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before Death of she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the therine. king; in which she gave him the appellation of ber most dear Lord, King, and Husband. She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment: That though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, the yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: And that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the fole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and fervants. She concluded with these words, I make this vow, that mine eyes defire you above all things x. The king was touched even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is faid to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit y.

THE emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animo.

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Herbert, p. 403. Furnet, vol. i. p. 192.

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C HAP. fity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped fo much advantage. He fent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity, upon these conditions; that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome, that he should affift him in his war with the Turk, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the dutchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: As to the conditions proposed; the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and fo fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him, against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully restored, he should then be in a fituation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to affift the injured party.

WHAT rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor was, both his experience of the usual duplicity and infincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without iffue; and the emperor maintained that the dutchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him as head of the Germanic body: Not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince who fhould be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angouleme, third fon of The French monarch, who pretended

² Du Bellay, liv. v. Herbert. Burnet, vol. iii. in Coll. No co.

Sforza's death, was content to fubstitute his second fon, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his fole intention in that liberal concession was to gain time, till he should put himself in a warlike posture, and be able to carry an invasion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between these princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in perfonal infulrs on each other, ill becoming persons of their rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon after invaded Provence in person, with an army of fifty thousand men; but met with no success. His army perished with fickness, fatigue, famine, and other disafters; and he was obliged to raife the fiege of Marfeilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialists, near 30,000 ftrong, which invaded France on the fide of the Netherlands, and laid fiege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the fatisfaction

Ir any inquietude remained with the English court, it was folely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the dangerous fituation of his ally Francis, generously levied some forces; and embarking them on board veffels which he had hired for that purpole, landed them fafely in France. He even went over in person; and making halte to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who having repulfed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friend-VOL. IV.

Thip,

to find, both that his ally Francis was likely to support himself without foreign affistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully enfured by these violent

wars and animofities on the continent.

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CHAP. ship, the king of Scots paid his addresses to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match than what arose from the infirm state of his daughter's health, which feemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princess, and obtained her consent, the father would no longer oppose the united defires of his daughter and his friend: They were accordingly married, and foon after fet fail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after het arrival. Francis, however, was afraid left his ally Henry, whom he likewise looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be displeased that this close confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore dispatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologife for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expressed such displeasure, that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his measures more by humour and passion, than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was fo fettered by the opposition in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he purfued no farther this difgust against Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity. both on the fide of France and of Scotland.

THE domestic peace of England seemed to be exposed to more hazard by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that in this dangerous conjuncture nothing enfured public tranquillity fo much as the decifive authority acquired by the king, and his great afcendant over all his subjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown was profound during that age: The personal respect ences in England; and though the king fulls

inspired

inspired by Henry was considerable; and even the CHAP. terrors with which he overawed every one were not attended with any confiderable degree of hatred. His frankness, his fincerity, his magnificence, his generofity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuofity. And the important rank which his vigour more than his address acquired him in all foreign negociations flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships to which they were exposed. The king, conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous exercise of his authority; and after paving the way for that measure by several preparatory expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of

their ample revenues.

THE great increase of monasteries, if matters be confidered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other disadvantage attending that communion feems to have an inseparable connection with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplicity of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority and infinuation of monks, whole habitations being established every where proved fo many feminaries of superstition and of folly. This order of men was extremely enraged against Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the fole protection which they enjoyed against the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now subjected to the king's visitation; the supposed facredness of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progress of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monaffic orders, gave them reason to apprehend like consequences in England; and though the king still maintained

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C H A P. maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen, that in the progress of the contest he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient institutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests naturally induced him to unite. Moved by these considerations, the friars employed all their influence to inflame the people against the king's government; and Henry, finding their fafety irreconcileable with his own, was determined to feize the present opportunity, and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

CROMWEL, fecretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's fupremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power affumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellafis, and others, as commissioners, who carried on every where a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and as it was known that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren; the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore faid to have been found in many of the religious houses: Whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: Signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lufts between persons of the fame fex. It is indeed probable, that the blind fubmission of the people during those ages would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more diffolute than they are in any Roman catholic coun-

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try at present: But still the reproaches which it is CHAP. fafest to credit, are such as point at vices naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who being confined together within the fame walls, never can forget their mutual animofities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly curfed with hearts more felfish and tempers more unrelenting than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds practifed to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The fupine idleness also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question; and though monks were the true prefervers as well as inventors of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men whose lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raife the mind or cultivate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwel and his commisfioners, furrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received fmall penfions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to difmifs fuch nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whose vows were on that account supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to fuch as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who defired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the retropolate than they are ig dy Koman cathonic coup

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port of the vifitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions which to their ancestors had been

the objects of the most profound veneration.

4th Feb.

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ment.

Suppreffion of the leffer monasteries.

THE king, though determined utterly to abolish the monaftic orders, refolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at prefent, than to fuppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year. These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less fcrutiny b; and it was deemed fafest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and feventy-fix monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more. It does not appear that any opposition was made to this important law: So absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony !-

THE act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon-law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity of that law increased his

authority,

b Burnet, vol. i. p. 193. 2 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.

It is pretended, fee Hollingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the diffolution of the leffer monasteries. If fo, most of them must have been Mendicants: For the revenue could not have supported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, ftill continued their former profession.

d 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27. SHOWING

anthority, and kept the clergy in still greater de- CHAP.

pendance.

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FARTHER progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: The separate jurifdictions of feveral great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished this fession.

THE commons, fensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to fecure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law, fuch as he dictated to them. It was enacted, That the poffession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in truft. Of the state of war as a change

AFTER all these laws were passed, the king disfolved the parliament; a parliament memorable not April 14. only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had fitten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will that he did not chuse, during those religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the fame parliament above fix years: A practice at that time unufual in England. I VIDATO BE THE

THE convocation which fat during this fession was A convoengaged in a very important work, the deliberating cation. on the new translation which was projected of the fcriptures. The translation given by Tindal, though corrected by himself in a new edition, was still complained of by the clergy as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now proposed to them that they should

e 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4. f. Ibid. c. 10.

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C HAP) themselves publish a translation, which would not be

liable to those objections. Yel doddw street pool street THE friends of the reformation afferted, that no-

thing could be more abfurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itself, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which for the purpose of universal salvation had published that salutary doctrine to all nations: That if this practice were not very abfurd, the artifice at least was very gross, and proved a consciousness that the glosses and traditions of the clergy flood in direct opposition to the original text dictated by Supreme Intelligence; That it was now necessary for the people, fo long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven: And that as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different fects, the proper materials for decision, and above all, the holy scriptures, should be set before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had fomewhat obscured, be again by their means revealed to mankind.

THE favourers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people fee with their own eyes was a mere cheat, and was itself a very gross artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to feduce them from those pastors whom the laws, whom ancient establishments, whom heaven itleif, had appointed for their spiritual direction: That the people were, by their ignorance, their flupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to chuse their own principles; and it was a mockery to fet materials before them, of which they could not possibly make any proper use: That 90019010400

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even in the affairs of common life, and in their tem- CHAP. poral concerns, which lay more within the compass of human reason, the laws had in a great measure deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour: That theological questions were placed far beyond the fphere of vulgar comprehension; and ecclesiaffics themselves, though affisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an affiduous fludy of the science, could not be fully affured of a just decision; except by the promise made them in fcripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her: That the gross errors adopted by the wifest heathens proved how unfit men were to grope their own way through this profound darkness; nor would the scriptures, if trusted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, those fatal illusions: That facred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rife to fo many difficulties, contained fo many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon that could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: That the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the fame time that it occasioned uncertainty in the fense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was fufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil fociety into the most furious combustion: That a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend each of them to derive its tenets from the fcripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to seduce filly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most monstrous principles: And that if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence

CHAP. quiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more secure establishments.

> THESE latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclefiaftical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and fome other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's fense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a confiderable advancement of their cause. Farther progress was soon expected,

after fuch important fuccesses.

Difgrace of queen

Bur while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification which feemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness Anne Boleyn possessed no longer the king's favour; and foon after loft her life by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had perfevered in his love to this lady during fix years that his profecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his pasfion, the more determined zeal did he exert in purfuring his purpose. But the affection which had fubfisted, and still increased under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from fatiety; and the king's heart was apparently effranged from his confort. Anne's enemies foon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interpoling in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead fon; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus for the prefent disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make 17

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make the innocent mother answerable for the mif- CHAP. fortune s. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her, was his jealoufy.

Anne, though she appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her less circumfpect than her fituation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herfelf to that strict ceremonial practifed in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleafed to fee the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband poffessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Ill instruments interposed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen: The viscountess of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her fifter-in-law, infinuated the most cruel fuspicions into the king's mind; and as she was a woman of profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which fhe fuggested. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his fifter; and, not content with this imputation, the poisoned every action of the queen's, and reprefented each instance of favour which she conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton gentlemen

CHAP. of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton groom of the chamber, were observed to possels much of the queen's friendship; and they ferved her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be feafoned with some mixture of tenderness for so amiable a princels. The king's jealousy laid hold of the flightest circumstance, and finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

HAD Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might on a fudden have proceeded to the most violent extremities, it would have been subject to many remorfes and contrarieties; and might at last have suffered only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was a more sternierloufy, fostered entirely by pride: His love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of fir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of fingular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him; and he was determined to facrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damfels of their court rather honoured than diffraced by their passion, he seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than those which he fought to avoid by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the defign of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every fuggestion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Head of boing fatished with

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THE king's jealoufy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but

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interpreted by him as an instance of gallantry to some C H A P. of her paramours h. He immediately retired from the place; fent orders to confine her to her chamber : arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, together with her brother Rocheford; and threw them into prison. The queen, astonished at these instances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earnest, the reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and she prepared herfelf for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day the was fent to the Tower; and on her way thither she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant: She made earnest protestations of her innocence; and when the entered the prison the fell on her knees, and prayed God fo to help her, as the was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her furprise and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders; and in that fituation the thought that the best proof of her innocence was to make an entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and levities which her simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that the had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when the should be a widow: She had reproved Weston, she faid, for his affection to a kinfwoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife: But he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection. for it was herself: Upon which she defied him . Sheaffirmed that Smeton had never been inher chamber but twice, when he played on the harpfichord: But the acknowledged that he had once had the boldness to tell her, that a look sufficed him. The king, inflead of being fatisfied with the candour and fincerity of her confession, regarded these indiscretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies. her harmich there is a incident probably callial, but

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C H A P. OF all those multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her profperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had fmiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connections of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and, as far as the king's impetuofity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her.

THE queen herfelf wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the warmest protestations of innocence k. This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris. Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt confisted in a hearlay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen 1; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him, if he would confess his crime, and accuse the

^{*} See note [G] at the end of the volume.

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 202.

queen: But he generously rejected the proposal; and C HAP. faid, that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless: But for his part he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths

than calumniate an innocent person.

THE queen and her brother were tried by a jury Her trial: of peers, confilting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twentythree more: Their uncle the duke of Norfolk prefided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown: The chief evidence, it is faid, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been feen to lean on her bed before fome company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions that the king never had her heart; and had faid to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatsoever: Which was to the slander of the issue begatten between the king and ber. By this strained interpretation her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any flander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for facrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unaffifted by counfel, the defended herfelf with presence of mind; and the fpectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both against the queen and lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained, that the should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful fentence was pronounced the was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven faid, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, " the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have " not deserved this fate." And then turning to the

CHAP. judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence. The bobbash moder that consended let

> HENRY, not fatisfied with this cruel vengeance, was refolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her iffue illegitimate: He recalled to his memory, that a little after her appearance in the English court some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy; and he now questioned the nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops, that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them: He received the facrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this folemn act he accompanied with the most folemn protestations of veracity m. The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king . The afflicted primate who fat as judge thought himself obliged by this confession to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconfiftent, and that if her marriage were from the beginning invalid, the could not possibly be guilty of adultery.

and execu-

THE queen now prepared for fuffering the death to which the was fentenced. She fent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: From a private gentlewoman, the faid, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, fince he could raife her no higher in this world, he was fending her to be a faint

m Herbert, p. 384.

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^{*} Heylin, p. 94.

In heaven. She then renewed the protestations of CHAP. her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herfelf with her usual ferenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The " executioner," fhe faid to the lieutenant, "is, I " hear, very expert; and my neck is very flender:" Upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. When brought, however, to the fcaffold, she foftened 19th May. her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obstinacy of queen Catherine, and her opposition to the lang's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary: Her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in these last moments over that indignation which the unjust sentence by which she fuffered naturally excited in her. She faid that she was come to die, as the was fentenced by the law: She would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a most merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious fovereign; and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she defired him to judge the best. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was fent for as more expert than any in England. Here body was negligently thrown into a common cheft of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower.

THE innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry himself, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuse w as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to ther brother, and four persons more, he was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenour of

Theylar, p. qe. o Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

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XXXI.

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C H A P. her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, fuch as is implied in the King's accufation: Had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies some evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution P. His impatience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not foftened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had fo long been the object of his most tender affections.

> THE lady Mary thought the death of her stepmother a proper opportunity for reconciling herfelf to the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her on account of the part which the had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some farther proofs of submission and obedience: He required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets, to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed on to write a letter to her father, containing her affent to the articles required of her: Upon which she was received into favour. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the iffue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was bleft with a fingular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment towards her.

8th June. A pariiament.

THE trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the fubsequent events, made it necessary for the king to

p Burnet, vol. i. p. 207.

¹ lbid. Strype, vol. i. p. 285.

fummon a new parliament; and he, here, in his CHAP. fpeech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding the missortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced for their good to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: He compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Sampson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Abfalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he disavowed these praises; since, if he were really possessed of such endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no less fubmissive in deeds than complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as the former in gratifying even his most lawless paffions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified; that queen and all her accomplices were attainted; the iffue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to affert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any flander upon the prefent king, queen, or their iffue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was fettled on the king's iffue by Jane Seymour, or any fubfequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: An enormous authority, especially when entrusted to a prince fo violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of fettlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause a species of political inquisition was established in

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The parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reason, " For that his highness had chosen " to wife the excellent and virtuous lady Jane, who for her conve-" nient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, " would be apt, God willing, to conceive iffue by his highnefs."

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CHAP, the kingdom, as well as the accusations of treason multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any castles, honours, liberties, or franchifes; words which might have been extended to the difmembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry without the king's confent, any princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occafioned by the discovery of a design formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to espouse the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his fifter the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty foon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of parliament, need but a purotes and to less shi as but

ANOTHER accession was likewise gained to the authority of the crown: The king, or any of his fuccessors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been passed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any person who possessed any office ecclefiaftical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of So help me God, all faints, and the holy evangelists. The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's diffrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making

fome advances to Henry: But this was the reception C H A P. he met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal censures; and finding a great increase of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to persevere in his present measures. This parliament alfo, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the respect of his subjects; and what confidence he might repose in them. Though the elections had been made on a fudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members discovered an unlimited attachment to his person and government '.

THE extreme complaifance of the convocation, A convowhich fat at the fame time with the parliament, encouraged him in his resolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was fecretly a great division of sentiments in the minds of this assembly; and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by some late successes, the resentment of the catholics was no less excited by their fears and losses: But the authority of the king kept every one submissive and filent; and the new-assumed prerogative, the fupremacy, with whose limits no one was fully acquainted, restrained even the most furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwel prefided as vicar-general; and though the catholic party expected that, on the fall of queen Anne, his authority would receive a great shock, they were surprised to find him still maintain the same credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer bishop of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Hilsey of Rochester, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The opposite faction was headed by Lee archbishop of York, Stokesley bishop of London, Tonstal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchefter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chi-

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Barnet, vol. i. p. 212.

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CHAP. chester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle. The former party, by their opposition to the pope, feconded the king's ambition and love of power: The latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles: And both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour, by which he was more governed than by either of these motives.

THE church in general was averse to the reformation; and the lower house of convocation framed a lift of opinions, in the whole fixty-feven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, some held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern protestants, or Gospellers, as they were fometimes called. These opinions they fent to the upper house to be censured; but in the preamble of their representation, they discovered the fervile spirit by which they were governed. They faid, "that they intended not to do or speak any ff thing which might be unpleafant to the king. " whom they acknowledge their fupreme head, and 56 whose commands they were resolved to obey; re-" nouncing the pope's usurped authority, with all " his laws and inventions, now extinguished and 4 abolished; and addicting themselves to Almighty 66 God and his laws, and unto the king and the " laws made within this kingdom"."

THE convocation came at last, after some debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the affembly itself, or rather as the king's fystem of theology, by which they were resolved entirely to square their principles. They determined the standard of faith to confist in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apoltolic, Nicene, and Athanasian; and this article was a signal victory to the reformers: Auricular confession and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the re from the beginning; all billiops and teachers

ent beverre ad " Collier, vol. ii. p. 119 unftat blucit 3

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catholics:

catholics: No mention was made of marriage, ex- C H A P. treme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as facraments; and in this omission the influence of the protestants appeared: The real presence was afferted. conformably to the ancient doctrine: The terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God,

fuitably to the new principles.

So far the two fects feem to have made a fair partition, by alternately sharing the several clauses. In framing the fubfequent articles, each of them feems to have thrown in its ingredient. The catholics prevailed in afferting, that the use of images was warranted by Scripture, the protestants, in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these fensible representations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to faints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of faints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practifed on Ash-wednesday, Palm-funday, Good-friday, and other festivals, were still maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of these institutions, were also adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting fin, and by its afferting that their fole merit confifted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind. The man has intercles of tarring

Bur the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hefitation, arifing from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this purpose; " Since, according to due " order of charity, and the book of Maccabees, and "divers ancient authors, it is a very good and cha-" ritable deed to pray for fouls departed; and fince " fuch a practice has been maintained in the church " from the beginning; all bishops and teachers " should instruct the people not to be grieved for " the M 4

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CHAP. " the continuance of the fame. But fince the place " where departed fouls are retained, before they " reach Paradife, as well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by Scripture; all fuch " questions are to be submitted to God, to whose mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceased, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for them "."

> THESE articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the king, were fubscribed by every member of that affembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except Henry himself. who had adopted precifely these very doctrines and opinions. For, though there be not any contral diction in the tenets above mentioned, it had happened in England, as in all countries where factious divisions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neuters were to be found; and these confisted only of speculative or whimsical people, of whom two persons could scarcely be brought to an agreement in the fame dogmas. The protestants all of them carried their opposition to Rome farther than those articles: None of the catholics went fo far: And the king, by being able to retain the nation in fuch a delicate medium, displayed the utmost power of an imperious despotism, of which any history furnishes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when feconded by a party, is one of the most perilous enterprises which any fovereign can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to fet the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even stop its career: He could fay to it, Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther: And he made every vote of his parliament and convocation subservient, not only to his interests

W Collier, vol. ii. p. 122, & feq. Fuller. Burnet, vol. i. p. 215.

and passions, but even to his greatest caprices; nay, CHAP. to his most refined and most scholastic subtilties.

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THE concurrence of these two national assemblies ferved, no doubt, to increase the king's power over the people, and raifed him to an authority more absolute than any prince in a simple monarchy even by means of military force is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds beyond which the most flavish submission cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the diffolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the reft were exposed , had bred difcontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compassion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives fuited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raise the strongest zeal in its favour y. Discontents had even reached some of the Disconnobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded tents a the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those people. institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested for the fouls of their forefathers, which, they believed, must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reafonable deemed it fomewhat iniquitous, that men who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws human and divine which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and

x See note [H] at the end of the volume.

y Strype, vol. i. p. 249.

I536.

CHAP. bribery of the commissioners and others, employed in vifiting the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits refulting from these confiscations, it tended

much to increase the general discontent.

Bur the people did not break into open fedition till the complaints of the fecular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwel's person was little acceptable to the ecclefiastics; the authority which he exercised being so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with disgust and terror. Hepublished, in the king's name, without the consent either of parliament or convocation, an ordonance by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited feveral superstitions gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a confiderable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a grievous fervitude, instilled into the people those discontents which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

THE first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was difguifed like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above 20,000 men a; but, notwithstanding their number, they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and Teemed still overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed: And they prayed the king to consult the sing their to kin an edit di erotad balorcia silent.

Infurrection.

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nobility

z Burnet, vol. i. p. 223. 2 Ibid. p. 227. Herbert. n dryddyff 🗸

nobility of the realm concerning the redress of these CHAP. grievances . Henry was little disposed to entertain apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude, whom he despised. He sent forces against 6th Octob. the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very sharp answer to their petition. There were fome gentry, whom the populace had constrained to take part with them, and who kept a fecret correspondence with They informed him, that refentment against the king's reply was the chief cause which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably suppress the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels; and being fo well supported by power, he thought that, without losing his dignity, he might now show them some greater condescension. He sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with fecret affurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: The populace was dispersed: Mackrel and fome of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed: The greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their usual occupations: A few of the more obstinate fled to the north, where they joined the infurrection that was raifed in those parts.

THE northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were also on other accounts more formidable than those of Lincolnshire; because the people were there more accultomed to arms, and because of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of these disorders. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he poffeffed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called the Pilgrimage of Grace: Some priefts marched before in the habits of their order. 1536.

C HAP. carrying crosses in their hands: In their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ : They wore on their fleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle: They all took an oath, that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's person and issue, their defire of purifying the nobility, of driving bafeborn persons from about the king, of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allured by these fair pretences, about 40,000 men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no less than their numbers, inspired the court with apprehensions.

THE earl of Shrewsbury, moved by his regard for the king's service, raised forces, though at first without any commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulfed them from his castle of Skipton: Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborow-castle against them 4: Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's coufin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops. The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: They had laid fiege to Pomfret-castle, into which the archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themselves. It was foon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who fecretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

THE duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court which supported the ancient religion, he was also suspected of bearing fome favour to the cause which he was sent to op-

Fox, vol. ii. p. 992. Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaster, together with the earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army was finall, scarcely exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purposed

to defend against the rebels. They had intended to .

attack him in the morning; but during the night there fell fuch violent rains as rendered the river utterly impassable; and Norfolk wifely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negotiation, he

fent them a herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand, and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed

that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry purposely delayed giving an answer, and allured them with

hopes of entire fatisfaction, in expectation that nelceffity would foon oblige them to disperse themfelves. Being informed that his artifice had in a

great measure succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms, and submit to mercy; promifing a pardon to all except fix whom he named, and four whom he referved to himself the power of

naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most folemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king's answer should

not prove fatisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, foon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negotiation with the leaders of the

multitude. He engaged them to fend three hundred persons to Doneaster, with proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped, by intrigue and feparate

interests, to throw diffension among so great a number. Aske himself had intended to be one of the 1536.

CHAP. But the king, when confulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other whom he efteemed fo little as to put him in pledge for fuch a villain. The demands of the rebels were fo exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their numbers and spirit; and, notwithstanding the small river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in fuch abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their defign; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly ftruck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the dispersion by the promife of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He published, however, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty style, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, " with our whole council, think it right " strange that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert " folk, do take upon you to appoint us, who be " meet or not for our council."

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was fent for to court; and the former, upon his refufal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new infurrection broke out.

headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels befieged 17

oth Dec.

belieged Carlisle with 8000 men. Being repulsed CHAP. by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prisoners of all their officers except Musgrave. who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of feventy persons. An attempt made by fir Francis Bigot and Halam, to furprise Hull, met with no better success; and feveral other rifings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted; and from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent fuffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and wherever he thought proper executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske. leader of the first insurrection, fir Robert Constable, fir John Bulmer, fir Thomas Piercy, fir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley. and many others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Huffey was found guilty as an accomplice in the infurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcey, though he pleaded compulfion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either fensible of that nobleman's fervices, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of fuch extensive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now fatiated with punishing the rebels, he published anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered ; and he erected by patent a court of justice at York, for deciding lawfuits in the northern counties: A demand which had been made by the rebels.

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SOON

CHAP. XXXI.

1537. Octob. 12. Birth of prince Eddeath of queen lane.

Soon after this prosperous success, an event happened which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a fon, who was baptifed by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happiness without allay: The queen died two days after '. But a fon had fo long been ward, and ardently wished for by Henry, and was now become fo necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the fuccession, after the acts declaring the two princesses illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great fatisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not fix days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and earl of Chester. Sir Edward Sevmour, the queen's brother, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raifed to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; fir William Paulet, lord St. John; fir John Ruffel, lord Ruffel.

1538.

MESS.

THE suppression of the rebellion, and the birth of a fon, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, increased his consideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on with various fuccess, and without any decisive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to incur, without necessity, either hazard or expence on his account. A truce, concluded about this time between these potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established the tranquillity of Europe.

HENRY continued defirous of cementing a union with the German protestants; and for that purpose he fent Christopher Mount to a congress which they

f Strype, vol. ii. p. s.

held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great C. H.A.P. progress in his negotiation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry difliked; and they fent new ambaffadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and to dispute. They endeavoured to convince the king that he was guilty of a mistake in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private maffes, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy . Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to fo great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and fyllogifms enow to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassador without coming to any conclusion. Jealous also lest his own subjects should become such theologians as to question his tenets, he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the scripture which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain: And he took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That this indulgence " was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness " and his liberality to them; who therefore should " use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not " of strife: And he ordered that no man should read " the Bible aloud, fo as to disturb the priest while " he fang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful " places without advice from the learned." In this measure, as in the rest, he still halted half way between the catholics and the protestants.

THERE was only one particular in which Henry was quite decifive; because he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the confequence of his profusion: This measure was, Suppres-the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present fion of the

greater monaf-

⁸ Collier, vol. if. p. 145. From the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.

1538.

C HAP. opportunityseemedfavourableforthatgreatenterprise, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and encreased the royal authority; and as some of the abbots were fuspected of having encouraged the infurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's refentment was farther incited by that motive. A new vifitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of fuch unlimited power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the leffer monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary refignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as feveral of the abbots fince the breach with Rome had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more eafily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their yows; and on the whole, the defign was conducted with fuch fuccess, that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

In feveral places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction . There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks.

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if endowed with industry, might be of service to the CHAP. public; and none of them could want employment fuited to his flation and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a fettlement in the marriage state, an accident to which fuch persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want which attended her fituation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to fubfift in the kingdom.

THE better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the facred repositories of convents; the pairings of St. Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin shewn in eleven feveral places; two or three heads of St. Urfula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women; some reliques, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But fuch fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the catholic religion.

THERE

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THERE were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales in the county of Gloucester there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relique; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal fin, even when fet before him; and till he had performed good works fufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks who were let into the fecret had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: They put it in a phial, one side of which confifted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were fure to flow him the dark fide of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial i.

in Kent, and bore the appellation of the Rood of Grace. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilfey bishop of Rochester broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought to London, and cut in pieces: And by a cruel refinement in vengeance it was employed as suel to burn friar Forest, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A singer of St. Andrew, covered

i Herbert, p. 431, 432. Stowe, p. 575.

k Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575. Herbert. Baker, p. 286.

with a thin plate of filver, had been pawned by a CHAP. convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on

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account of his pledge. But of all the instruments of ancient superstition no one was fo zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This faint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: Plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and fix pence; at the Virgin's, fixty-three pounds five shillings and fix pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirtytwo pounds twelve shillings and three pence. But next year the difproportion was still greater: There was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds fix shillings and three pence. Lewis VII, of France had made a pilgrimage to this

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 244.

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CHAP. miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a faint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas: He made the faint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: He ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.

> On the whole, the king at different times suppressed fix hundred and forty-five monasteries; Of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a feat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in feveral counties; two thousand three hundred and feventy-four chantries and free chapels: A hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and fixtyone thousand one hundred pounds m. It is worthy of observation, that all the lands and possessions and revenue of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; fo that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the leffer monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: A fum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leafes before they expired. Bastos the lands polluid

> GREAT murmurs were every where excited on account of these violences; and men much questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however yo-

m Lord Herbert, Camden, Speed,

[&]quot; See note [I] at the end of the volume.

luntary, transfer to the king the entire property of CHAP. their estates. In order to reconcile the people to fuch mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear during war as well as peace the whole charges of government °. While fuch topics were employed to appeale the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the fuccess of his measures P: He either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or fold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very difadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is faid to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate 4. He also fettled penfions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: He erected fix new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborow, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which five fubfift at this day: And by all these means of expence and diffipation the profit which the king reaped by the feizure of church lands fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to fecrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to those of the lesser.

Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a confiderable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands

q Fuller.

O Coke's 4th Inft. fol. 44. P Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 800.

CHAP. of laymen: An abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal facrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expence of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertley in Surrey, which poffessed 744 pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: That of Furnese in the county of Lincoln was valued at 960 pounds a year, and contained about thirty. In order to diffipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subfisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too fudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

IT is eafy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome; and how much the ecclefiaftics of that court, who had fo long kept the world in fubjection by high founding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his foul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their fide: He had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themselves respected; was at open hosti-

^{*} Burnet, vol. i. p. 237.

lity with heaven; and had engaged in professed en- C H A P. mity with the whole hoft of faints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his refemblance to the emperor Julian, whom it was faid he imitated in his apostacy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals. Henry could distinguish in some of these libels the style and animosity of his kinfman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every possible expedient on that famous cardinal.

REGINALD de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was Cardinal descended from the royal family, being fourth fon Pole. of the counters of Salifbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius and generous disposition by which during his whole life he was fo much diffinguished; and Henry, having conceived great friendship for him, intended to raife him to the highest ecclesiaffical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter's, the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the university of Paris at the time when the king folicited the fuffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendship with a person whose virtues and talents he hoped would prove ufeful as well as ornamental to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanery, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua: He even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late measures taken in England for abolishing the papal authority.

CHAP. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget in some refpect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his fovereign. He replied, by writing a treatise of the unity of the church, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his fecond marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, diffembled his refentment; and he fent a message to Pole, defiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was univerfally beloved.

THE pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who in support of their cause had sacrificed all his pretentions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was fent legate into Flanders about the year 1536 t. Henry was fensible that Pole's chief intention, in chusing that employment, was to foment the mutinous difposition of the English catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate without allowing him The enmity which he to exercise his functions. bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal on his part kept no farther meafures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even

1 Herbert.

suspected of having aspired to the crown, by means C HAP. of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive, Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; fir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny: fir Nicholas Carew, master of horse and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and fir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. These persons were indicted and tried and convicted before lord Audley, who prefided in the trial as high steward: They were all executed except fir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king fecret intelligence of the conspiracy. We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the fentence pronounced against these men: We only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time profecuted by the court forms no prefumption of his guilt; though, as no historian of credit mentions in the present case any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume that sufficient evidence was produced against the marquis of Exeter and his affociates ".

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Disputation with Lambert—A parliament—
Law of the six articles—Proctamations made equal to laws—Settlement of the succession—
King's projects of marriage—He marries Anne of Cleves—He dislikes ber—A parliament—Fall of Cromwel—His execution—King's divorce from Anne of Cleves—His marriage with Catherine Howard—State of affairs in Scotland—Discovery of the queen's dissolute life—A parliament—Ecclesiastical affairs.

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HE rough hand of Henry feemed well adapted for rending afunder those bands by which the ancient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's fupremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was fummoned to meet at Mantua, he previously renounced all submission to it, as summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper, He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices, Cranmer

Cranmet took advantage of every opportunity to CHAP. carry him on in this course; and while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her infinuation and address, been successful in his endeavours. After her death Gardiner. who was returned from his embaffy to France, kept the king more in suspense; and, by feigning an unlimited submission to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purposes. Fox bishop of Hereford had supported Cranmer in his schemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto feemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to facrifice every thing to present interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partifans of the old religion. Gardiner himself, it was believed, had secretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with these powers he endeavoured to preferve, as much as possible, the ancient faith and worship.

HENRY was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have retarded his animofity and opposition against Rome, but some other passion which stopped his career, and raised him new objects of animofity. Though he had gradually, fince the commencement of his scruples with regard to his first marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological fystem in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken. And though he stood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had fo inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own particular standard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy happened to be the real presence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberless victories

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of superstition over common sense, her triumph is the most signal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and detestable; and nothing he thought would be more honourable for him, than while he broke off all connexions with the Roman pontiss, to maintain in this essential article the purity of the catholic saith.

Disputation with Lambert.

THERE was one Lambert w, a schoolmaster in London, who had been questioned and confined for unfound opinions by archbishop Warham; but upon the death of that prelate, and the change of counfels at court, he had been released. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he still continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a fermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his diffent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten feveral Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that though the substance of bread and wine remained in the facrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were in a certain mysterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet fuch was the perfecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign punishment; because in their common departure from the ancient faith he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on thefe points, were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were

w Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

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furprised when, instead of complying, he ventured CHAP.

to appeal to the king.

THE king, not displeased with an opportunity where he could at once exert his fupremacy, and difplay his learning, accepted the appeal; and refolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given that he intended to enter the lifts with the schoolmaster: Scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the enfigns of majesty: The prelates were placed on his righthand; the temporal peers on his left: The judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers: And in the midst of this splendid affembly was produced the unhappy Lambert. who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist.

THE bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by faying that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: That though his majesty had thrown off the usurpation of the see of Rome; had difincorporated fome idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had published the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made fome leffer alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: And that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he still continued

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CHAP. oblinate in them, he must expect the most condign punishmenty. 12 barried any off coldillag as foots!

AFTER this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king asked Lambers, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporeal presence in the sacrament of the alter; and when Lambert began his reply with fome compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards preffed Lambert with arguments drawn from scripture and the schoolmen: The audience applauded the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer feconded his proofs by some new topics: Gardiner entered the lifts as a support to Cranmer! Tonftal took up the argument after Cardiner! Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonstal : Six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokes ley: And the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambett, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then, returning to the charge, asked him whether he were convinced? and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, Whether he were refolved to live or to die? Lambert, who possessed that courage which confifts in obstinacy, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's elemency! The king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore if that were his final answer. he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwel, as vicegerent, pronounced the sentence against him someone or accept popularity

LAMBERT, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to perfevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the fufferings

y Goodwin's Annals. ' See note [K] at the end of the volume.

of a man who had personally opposed the king, as C H A P. cruel as possible: He was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were confumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, fome of the guards, more merciful than the reft, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was confumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud feveral times, None but Christ, none but Christ; and these words were in his mouth when he expired 2.

Some few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the fame fect and country were burned in Smithfield b.

IT was the unhappy fate of the English during this age, that, when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the fatisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: On the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then fure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with fome circumstance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper of themfelves to carry into execution. This abject fervility never appeared more confpicuously than in a new parliament, which the king now affembled, and A parliawhich, if he had been fo pleafed, might have been ment. the last that ever sat in England. But he found them too useful instruments of dominion ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion.

THE chancellor opened the parliament by informing the house of lords, that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion; and as this undertaking was, he owned, important and arduous, he defired them to chuse a committee from among

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a Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 427. Burnet.

b Stowe, p. 556.

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CHAP. themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwel, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlifle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what a hopeful task they had undertaken: This small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinion, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, That, fince there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, intended to be effablished, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them. As this peer was understood to speak the fense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and after a short prorogation, the bill of the fix articles, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, received the royal assent.

In this law the doctrine of the real presence was fix articles. established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article with regard to the real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: An unheard of feverity, and unknown to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure: An obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable The marriage of priests was subjected with death. to the fame punishment. Their commerce with women was, on the first offence, forfeiture and im-17

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prisonment; on the second, death. The abstaining C H A P. from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony . Commissioners were to be appointed by the king for inquiring into these heresies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

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THE king, in framing this law, laid his oppressive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reason to complain, that the friars and nuns, though dismissed their convent, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy d: But as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the statute, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion, as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill in the house; and though the king defired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and fincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unufual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whilper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Ofiander, a famous divine of Nuremberg f; and Henry, fatisfied with this proof of fubmission, showed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishopricks on account of the law, and were committed to prison. An obdinate alherence to error, or a re-

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d See note [L] at the end of the volume. Burnet, vol. i. f Herbert in Kennet, P. 249. 270. Fox, vol. ii. p. 1037. "O'C. lorienter am

1539. laws.

CHAP. THE parliament having thus refigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire furrender of their civil; and without scruple or deliberation Proclama- they made by one act a total subversion of the tions made English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the fame force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if posfible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly fet forth feveral proclamations, which froward persons had wilfully contemned, not confidering what a king by his royal power may do; that this licence might encourage offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but also to dishonour the king's most royal majesty, who may full ill bear it; that fudden emergencies often occur, which require speedy remedies, and cannot await the flow affembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered by his authority derived from God, to confult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory fubjects might push him to extremity and violence: For these reasons the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to fet forth proclamations enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper: And these proclamations were to have the force of obnoxious to him. She was allo saws allo suoixondo

TED WHAT proves either a stupid on a wilful blindness in the parliament is, that they pretended, even after bthis statute, to maintain some limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possesfions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchifes;

could not be proved, or that they would not by WEL.

g 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

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nor yet infringe any common law or laudable cuf- C H A P. tom of the realm. They did not consider that no penalty could be inflicted upon the disobeying of proclamations, without invading fome liberty or property of the subject; and that the power of enacting new laws joined to the dispensing power, then exercised by the crown, amounted to a full legislative authority. It is true, the kings of England had always been accultomed from their own authority to iffue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a strong symptom of absolute government: But still there was a difference between a power which was exercifed on a particular emergence, and which must be justified by the present expedience or necesfity; and an authority conferred by a positive statute, which could no longer admit of control or which require spendy removes, and came noitstimils

Could any act be more opposite to the spirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the same parliament. They passed an act of attainder not only against the marquis of Exeter, the lords Montacute, Darcy, Huffey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against some persons of the highest quality, who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred which Henry bore to cardinal Pole had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the countels of Salisbury, had on that account become extremely obnoxious to him. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new translation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which it is faid had been feen at Coudray, her country feat; and of having kept a correspondence with her son, the cardinal: But Henry found, either that these offences could not be proved, or that they would not by 0 3

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C H A P. law be subjected to such severe punishments as he defired to inflict upon her. He refolved, therefore, to proceed in a more fummary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpose he sent Cromwel, who was but too obsequious to his will, to ask the judges whether the parliament could attaint a person who was forth-coming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them ? The judges replied, that it was a dangerous question, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to justice: No inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied, that if a person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in question, but must remain good in law. Henry learned by this decifion, that fuch a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he refolved to employ it against the countels of Salisbury. Cromwel showed to the house of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countefs's house'. No other proof feems to have been produced in order to afcertain her guilt: The parliament, without farther inquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her; and they involved in the fame bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, fir Adrian Fortescue, and fir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed: The marchioness was pardoned, and furvived the king; the countels received a reprieve.

h Coke's 4th Inft. p. 37, 38.

i Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 652.

THE only beneficial act passed this session, was CHAP. that by which the parliament confirmed the furrender of the monasteries; yet even this act contains much falsehood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. The scheme of engaging the abbots to furrender their monasteries had been conducted, as may eafily be imagined, with many invidious circumstances: Arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive that could work on the frailty of human nature had been fet before them; and it was with great difficulty that these dignified conventuals were brought to make a concession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as facrilegious and criminal in itself k. Three abbots had shown more constancy than the rest, the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastenbury; and in order to punish them for their opposition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited. Besides, though none of these violences had taken place, the king knew that a furrender made by men who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore refolved to make all fure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament afferts, that all the furrenders made by the abbots had been, " without constraint, of " their own accord, and according to due course " of common law." And in consequence, the two houses confirm the furrenders, and secure the property of the abbey lands to the king and his fucceffors for ever m. It is remarkable, that all the mitted abbots still fat in the house of peers; and

k Collier, vol. ii. p. 158. & feq. m 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13. C. 10.

1 31 Hen. VIII.

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that none of them made any protests against this injurious statute.

In this fession the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed: Cromwel, as vicegerent, had the precedency assigned him above all of them. It was thought singular, that a blacksmith's son, for he was no other, should have place next the royal samily; and that a man possessed of no manner of literature should be set at the head of the church.

As foon as the act of the fix articles had paffed, the catholics were extremely vigilant in informing against offenders; and no less than five hundred persons were in a little time thrown into prison. But Cromwel, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able for the present to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk and chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents; and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No fooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family: A concession regarded by that party as an important Was bi Vendone; but as the king victory.

Henry's projects of marriage.

But as Henry was observed to be much governed by his wives while he retained his fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party seemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He first cast his eye towards the dutchess-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made proposals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties, he was carried by his friend-thip for Francis rather to think of a French princess.

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He demanded the dutchess-dowager of Longueville, CHAP. daughter of the duke of Guise, a prince of the house of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refusal: He had fet his heart extremely on the match: The information which he had received of the dutchefs's accomplishments and beauty, had prepossessed him in her favour; and having privately fent over Meautys to examine her person, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him ferved farther to inflame his defires. He learned that she was big made; and he thought her on that account the more proper match for him who was now become fomewhat corpulent. The pleasure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his profecution of this match; and he infifted that Francis should give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though fensible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his interests, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent farther folicitation, he immediately fent the princess to Scotland. Not to shock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princess, he would not hear any farther of fuch a proposal. The officer French monarch then offered him the choice of the same two younger fifters of the queen of Scots; and he affured him that they were nowife inferior either in merit or fize to their eldest fister, and that one of them was even superior in beauty. The king was , as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives as if his heart had been really susceptible of a delicate passion; and he was unwilling to trust any relations, or even pictures, with regard to this important particular. He proposed to Francis, that 22

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CHAP. they should have a conference at Calais, on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him the two princesses of Guise. together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the proposal: He was impressed with too much regard, he faid, for the fair fex, to carry ladies of the first quality like geldings to a market there to be chofen or rejected by the humour of the purchaser ". Henry would hearken to none of these niceties, but still infifted on his proposal; which, however, notwithflanding Francis's earnest desire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

THE king then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely disgusted with the emperor on account of his perfecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew a connexion which he regarded as fo advantageous to him. Cromwel joyfully feconded this intention; and proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose fister, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holben determined Henry to apply to her father; and after fome negotiation, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was at last concluded; and Anne was fent over to England. The king, impatient to be fatisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester, and got a fight of her. He found her big indeed, and tall, as he could wish; but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and reprefentations which he had received: He fwore

He marries Anne of Cleves.

Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 638.

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the was a great Flanders mare; and declared that CHAP. he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could fpeak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He returned to Green- Dislikes wich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwel, as well as to lord Ruffet, fir Anthony Brown, and fir Anthony Denny. This last gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private persons, chuse for themselves; but must receive their wives

from the judgment and fancy of others.

IT was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors, whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved, and the princess be sent back to her own country. Henry's fituation feemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good understanding was thought to have taken place between these rival monarchs; and such marks of union appeared as gave great jealoufy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare to that degree among great princes. An infurrection had been raifed in the Low-Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and feemed to threaten the most dangerous consequences. Charles, who refided at that time in Spain, refolved to go in person to Flanders, in order to appeare those disorders; but he found great difficulties in chusing the manner of his passing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the channel dangerous, by reason of the English naval power: He asked Francis's permisfion to pass through his dominions; and he entrusted himself into the hands of a rival whom he had so

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CHAP mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courtefy; and though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his miftress and favourites, to make advantage of the present opportunity, he conducted the emperor fafely out of his dominions; and would not fo much as fpeak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal pointed, he laid, fome bilhops and orvines co. tlaug.

HENRY, who was informed of all thefe particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between these princes; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England. An alliance with the German princes feemed now more than ever requifite for his interest and safety; and he knew that if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly refented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that fince matters had gone fo far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own interests were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spoule any better. The king told him that he hated her worse than ever; and that her person was more disguiting on a near approach: He was resolved never to meddle with her; and even suspected her not to be a true maid: A point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even feemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwel; but though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breaft, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity of some badd belistong talls to have recourle to parliament for the diffolution of

1540. 6th Jan.

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. Stowe, p. 579.

A SESSION of parliament was held; and none of CHAP. the abbots were now allowed a place in the house of peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diversity 12thApril.

A parliament of the great diversity A parliament of religions which still prevailed on the great diversity. of religions which still prevailed among his subjects: ment. A grievance, he affirmed, which ought the less to be endured because the Scriptures were now published in English, and ought universally to be the standard of belief to all mankind. But he had at pointed, he faid, some bishops and divines to draw up a list of tenets to which his people were to affent: and he was determined that Christ, the doctrine of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory. The king feems to have expected more effect in afcertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had enfued from the publication of the Scriptures. Cromwel, as vicar-general, made also, in the king's name, a speech to the upper house; and the peers in return bestowed great flattery on him, and in particular, faid that he was worthy, by his defert, to be vicar general of the universe. That minister seemed to be no less in his master's good graces: He received, foon after the fitting of the parliament, the title of earl of Effex, and was installed knight of the Garter! must of audiens view

THERE remained only one religious order in England; the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly ecclefialtical, partly military, had by their valour done great fervice to Christendom; and had very much retarded at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progress of the barbarians. During the general furrender of the religious houses in England, they had exerted their spirit, and had obstinately refused to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no fociety that professed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourse to parliament for the diffolution of

Stowe, p. 579.

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CHAP. this order. Their revenues were large, and formed an addition nowife contemptible to the many acquifitions which the king had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue acquired by the plunder of the church: His profuse generofity diffipated faster than his rapacity could supply; and the parliament was furprifed this fession to find a demand made upon them of four tenths, and a fubfidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: So ill were the public expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any fupply from the people. The commons, though lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow-fubjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty fo fmall a grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was, the great expence which Henry had undergone for the defence of the realm, in building forts along the fea-coast, and in equipping a navy. As he had at present no ally on the continent in whom he reposed much confidence, he relied only on his domestic strength, and was on that account obliged to be more expensive in his preparations against the danger of an invasion.

THE king's favour to Cromwel, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: His aversion to the queen fecretly increased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to feek the diffolution of a marriage fo odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwel was haftened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of fuch low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicargeneral, but had engroffed many of the other confiderable

Fall of Cromwel.

fiderable offices of the crown: Befides enjoying that CHAP. commission, which gave him a high and almost absolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy feal, chamberlain, and mafter of the wards: He had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illustrious families, and which feemed to be profaned by its being communicated to fo mean a person. The people were averse to him, as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries; establishments which were still revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: The protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the perfecutions exercifed against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour: and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands arisen against the administration, was not displeased to throw on Cromwel the load of public hatred; and he hoped by making so easy a facrifice to regain the affections of his fubjects.

Bur there was another cause which suddenly fet all these motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the ministry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no expedient but by procuring a divorce from his present confort, to raise Catherine to his bed and throne. duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the fame use of her infinuations to ruin this minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolfey: And when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwel at the council-table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him

CHAP. to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be vicargeneral of the universe. The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. Cromwel was accused of herefy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous. The only circumstance of his conduct by which he seems to have merited this fate was his being the instrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous bills in the preceding fession, against the countess of Salisbury and others.

CROMWEL endeavoured to foften the king by the most humble supplications; but all to no purpose: It was not the practice of that prince to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all movements of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwel's letter ran in these words: "I, a most woful pri-" foner, am ready to submit to death when it shall " please God and your majesty; and yet the frail " flesh incites me to call to your grace for mercy " and pardon of mine offences. Written at the "Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand " of your highness's most miserable prisoner, and " poor flave, Thomas Cromwel." And a little below, " Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, " mercy, mercy "." When brought to the place His execu- of execution, he avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry

28th July. tion.

P Burnet, vol. i. p. 278.

9 Burnet, vol. i. p. 281, 282.

would

would refent on his fon those symptoms of opposition C H A P. to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the fummit of power from a low origin, he betraved no infolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private centinel in the Italian wars; when he received fome good offices from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service which he had rendered him. Cromwel in his grandeur happened at London to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty by misfortunes. He

immediately fent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful affistance rein-

stated him in his former prosperity and opulence. THE measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of King's di-Cleves were carried on at the fame time with the vorcefrom bill of attainder against Cromwel. The house of Cleves. peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to the king by petition, defiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by confent of both parties. The king, however, pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reasons more, which may feem a little extraordinary; that when he espoused Anne he had not inwardly given his confent, and that he had not thought proper to confummate the marriage. The convocation was fatisfied with these reasons, and

Burnet, vol. i. p. 172.

net, val. is possit, asa.

C HAP. folemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen: The parliament ratified the decision of the clergy's; and the sentence was soon after noti-

fied to the princels.

ANNE was bleft with a happy infensibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her fex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his profecution of the divorce, had never given her the least uneafiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his fifter, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a fettlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her; the accepted of the conditions, and gave her confent to the divorce. She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead), that the had been very well used in England, and defired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to her own country after the affront which she had received; and she lived and died in England.

NOTWITHSTANDING Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the fituation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their refentment. The close intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles had fublifted during a very short time: The diffimilarity of their characters foon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealoufy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that fatisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make in confidence some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all

s See note [M] at the end of the volume.

Herbert, p. 458, 459.

fuspicion of his rival, he hoped that the emperor and CHAP. he, supporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest 1540. the state of his negotiations with fultan Solyman. and the Venetians; he also laid open the solicitations which he had received from the court of England to enter into a confederacy against him ". Charles had no fooner reached his own dominions, than he shewed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He absolutely refuled to fulfil his promise, and put the duke of Orleans in possession of the Milanese: He informed Solyman and the senate of Venice of the treatment which they had received from their ally; and he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to whom he owed fuch important obligations, and had facrificed him to a new confederate: He even poisoned and misrepresented many things which the unsuspecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and generofity, this incident alone had been fufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, who had so unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor: And as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted of the offer; and thinking himself fecure in this alliance, he neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

THE new turn which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs was extremely agreeable to his catholic subjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwel, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonists. The marriage of the king with His mar-Catherine Howard, which followed foon after his riage with

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u Pere Daniel, Du Tillet.

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CHAP. divorce from Anne of Cleves, was also regarded as a favourable incident to their party; and the fubles quent events corresponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt in his turn the feverity of the perfecuting spirit; and, by a bill which passed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of faints, he faid that he doubted whether the faints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped in half an hour to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entreated the sheriff to earry to the king his dying request, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch who had fent him to the stake. The purport of his request was, that Henry, befides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common iwearing w.

WHILE Henry was exerting this violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged *. The king even displayed in an oftentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breaft. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was also executed for his religion. These catholics were Abel, Fethers

W Burnet, vol. i. p. 298. Fox. x Fox, vol. ii. p. 529:

stone, and Powel, who declared that the most grievous C H A P. part of their punishment was the being coupled to fuch heretical miscreants as suffered with them y.

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Though the spirit of the English seemed to be totally funk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent: An inconfiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by fir John Nevil; but it was foon suppressed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king was instantly determined to make the counters of Salisbury, who already lay under fentence of death, fuffer for her fon's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution; and this venerable matron maintained still, 27th May. in these distressful circumstances, the spirit of that long race of monarchs from whom the was defcended z. She refused to lay her head on the block, or fubmit to a fentence where she had received no trial. She told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could: And thus, shaking her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitless blows at her neck before he was able to give the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet, which with great glory, but still greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the space of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered fervice to the crown, was also beheaded for treason soon after the counters of Salifbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his profecution.

THE infurrection in the North engaged Henry to make a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish the ancient superstitions, to which

J Saunders, de Schism. Angl. Z Herbert, p. 468.

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C H A P. those parts were much addicted. He had also another motive for this journey: He purposed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if possible, to cement a close and indissoluble union with that kingdom.

State of affairs in Scotland.

THE fame spirit of religious innovation which had feized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite the fame jealousies, fears, and persecutions. About the year 1527 Patric Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was fent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with some reformers, and he returned into his own country, very ill disposed towards that church, of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the highest dignities. fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impossible for him to conceal his fentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who under colour of friendship and a sympathy in opinion had infinuated himself into his confidence, accused him before Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain with fome of the clergy a dispute concerning the controverted points; and after much reasoning with regard to justification, free-will, original fin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the infinuations of ambition, was less likely to be shaken with the fears of death; while he proposed to himself both the glory of bearing testimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compaffionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved at the constancy of his end; and an incident which soon followed still more confirmed them in their favourable fentiments towards him. He had cited Campbel, who still insulted him at the stake, to answer before

before the judgment-feat of Christ; and as that per- C H A P. fecutor, either aftonished with these events, or overcome with remorfe, or, perhaps, feized cafually with a diffemper, foon after lost his fenses, and fell into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet as well as a martyr ...

Among the disciples converted by Hamilton, was one friar Forrest, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly discover his fentiments, was suspected to lean towards the new opinions. His diocefan the bishop of Dunkel enjoined him, when he met with a good epiftle or good gofpel which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the rest alone. Forrest replied, that he had read both Old and New Testament, and had not found an ill epiftle or ill gospel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the scriptures was regarded in those days as a fure characteristic of herefy; and Forrest was soon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priefts were deliberating on the place of his execution, a bystander advised them to burn him in a cellar: For that the smoke of Mr. Patric Hamilton had infected all those on whom it blew b.

THE clergy were at that time reduced to great difficulties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total subversion of ancient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, detestable; the priests, who found both their honours and properties at stake, thought that they had a right to refift, by every expedient, these dangerous invaders, and that the same fimple principles of equity which justified a man in killing a pirate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of fuch heretics. A toleration, though it is never acceptable to ecclefiaftics, might, they faid,

b Ibid. p. 65. 25 20018 1 1 4 6

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a Spotswood's Hift. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62.

C H A P. be admitted in other cases; but seemed an absurdity where fundamentals were shaken, and where the possessions and even the existence of the established clergy were brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of perfecution, they found the fuccess of this remedy very precarious, and obferved, that the enthusiastic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was apt to prove contagious on the compassionate minds of the spectators. The new doctrine, amidst all the dangers to which it was exposed, secretly spread itself every where; and the minds of men were gradually disposed to a revolution in religion.

Bur the most dangerous symptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. James himself, who was very poor, and was somewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been fwayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the fame fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry also never ceased exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making profelytes, and the profpect of fecurity, should Scotland embrace a close union with him, he folicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promife to that purpose.

THE ecclefiaftics were alarmed at this resolution of James, and they employed every expedient in order to prevent the execution of it. They reprefented the danger of innovation; the pernicious consequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which must ensue upon his losing the friendship of France, and of all foreign

powers,

powers. To these considerations they added the CHAP. prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed: They offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds: They promised him that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply: And they pointed out to him the confiscation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thoufand pounds a-year to the crown revenues c. The infinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, feconded all thefe reasons; and James was at last engaged first to delay his journey, then to fend excuses to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview d,

HENRY, vexed with the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at fea and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received foon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more fenfible, and which touched him in a point where he always shewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: The agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no fecret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned folemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him; and he directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose, But the

⁵ Buchanan, lib. xiv. Drummond in Ja, 5. Pitfcotie, ibid. Knox.

Henry had fent some books, righly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw by the titles that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the presence of the person who brought them: Adding, it was better he should destroy them than they him. See Epist. Reginald, Pole. pars 1. p. 172.

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XXXII. .1541. Discovery of the queen's diffolute

C H A P. queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness: One Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that his fifter, formerly a fervant in the family of the old dutchess of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them fervants to the dutchefs, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other fervants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford, and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in filence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on fo delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely aftonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his confort, that at first he gave no credit to the information; and he faid to the privyfeal, to lord Ruffel high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous fituation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealoufy, prompted him to fearch the matter to the bottom: The privyfeal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given; and still appealed to his fifter's testimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Suffex, where the woman at that time refided: He found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested at the same time, and examined

examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt C H A P. entirely certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars, which redounded still more to her dishonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her fecrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was fo deeply affected that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. He found, to his furprife, that his great skill in diffinguishing a true maid, of which he boafted in the cafe of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his present confort. The queen, being next questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed that a full discovery was made, the confessed that the had been criminal before marriage; and only infifted that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone fince her marriage; and as it appeared that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her fervice, she feemed to deferve little credit in this affeveration; and the king, besides, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

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HENRY found that he could not by any means fo fully or expeditiously fatiate his vengeance on all thele criminals, as by affembling a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny. The two houses, having received the queen's confession, made an addrefs to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were subject; but to consider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from these views to derive a subject of consolation. They defired leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his affent to this bill, not in person, which would renew his vexation, and might endan-

1542-6th Jan.



CHAP, ger his health, but by commissioners appointed for that purpose. And as there was a law in force, making it treason to speak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon if any of them should, on the present occasion, have trans-

greffed any part of the statute.

HAVING obtained a gracious answer to these requests, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treason against the queen, and the vifcountels of Rocheford, who had conducted her fecret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were also comprehended. At the same time they passed a bill of attainder for misprission of treafon against the old dutchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance, to expect that parents should fo far forget the ties of natural affection, and the fentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders of their family. He himfelf feems to have been fensible of the cruelty of this proceeding: For he pardoned the dutchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprifion of treason.

However, to fecure himself for the future, as well as his fuccessors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to pass a law somewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, That any one who knew, or vehemently suspected any guilt in the queen, might within twenty days disclose it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law against defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one at the fame time from fpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whilpering it to others: It was also enacted, That if the king mar-

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ried any woman who had been incontinent, taking C H A P. her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this fingular clause, and faid, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be perfuaded to incur the penalty of the statute. After all these laws were passed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner fuitable to their dissolute life; and as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable fentiments which they had entertained of that un-

fortunate queen.

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THE king made no demand of any subsidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: He took farther steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practifing on the prefidents and governors to make a furrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their farther progrefs: It had been provided, by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president or any number of fellows could confent to fuch a deed, without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not eafily obtained. All fuch statutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses were now exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites. The church had been fo long their prey that no body was furprised at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations on the fecular clergy. He extorted from many of the

Burnet, vol. i. p. 314.

f See note [N] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the fees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parafites and flatterers with their spoils.

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Ecclefiaftic affairs.

THE clergy have been commonly fo fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal interests go hand in hand with a jealoufy for orthodoxy; and both these passions be regarded by the people, ignorant and fuperstitious, as proofs of zeal for religion: But the violent and headstrong character of Henry now disjoined these objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church, his bigotry and arrogance by perfecuting heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the fix articles, fo far as regards the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life; he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission consisting of the two archbishops, and feveral bishops of both provinces, together with a confiderable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclefiaftical fupremacy, he had given them in charge to chuse a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any progress in this arduous undertaking, the parliament in 1541 had passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which these divines should thereafter establish with the king's confent: And they were not ashamed of thus expressly declaring that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule, in spiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute which may feem at first fight to favour somewhat of the spirit of liberty: It was enacted, That the ecclefiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inferted by the king, to ferve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and and contradiction into the laws, he became more C HAP. master of every one's life and property. And as the ancient independence of the church still gave him jealoufy, he was well pleafed, under cover of fuch a clause, to introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpole in ecclefialtical causes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; though at first invented for arbi-

trary purpofes!

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THE king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that spiritual fupremacy which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the affent and belief of the nation. A fmall volume was foon after published, called the Institution of a Christian Man, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justification, faith, freewill, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers > The facraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now increased to the number of feven, conformably to the fentiments of The king's caprice is difcernible the catholics. throughout the whole; and the book is in reality to be regarded as his composition. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himself had formerly eitablished.

THE people had occasion, soon after, to see a farther instance of the king's inconstancy. He was not long fatisfied with his Institution of a Christian Man: He ordered a new book to be composed, called the Erudition of a Christian Man; and, without asking the assent of the convocation, he published,

XXXII. 1542.

CHAP. lished, by his own authority, and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Institution 2; but the king was no less positive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his fignal. In both these compositions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the

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While the king was fpreading his own books among the people, he feems to have been extremely perplexed, as were also the clergy, what course to take with the scriptures. A review had been made by the fynod, of the new translation of the Bible; and Gardiner had proposed, that instead of employing English expressions throughout, several Latin words should still be preserved; because they contained, as he pretended, fuch peculiar energy and fignificance, that they had no correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue . Among these were, ecclesia, panitentia, pontifex, contritus, bolocausta, sacramentum, elementa, ceremonia, mysterium, presbyter, sacrificium, bumilitas, satisfactio, peccatum, gratia, hostia, charitas, &c. But as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpose than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at least their disputative turn, seemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous; and the king and parliament', foon after the publication of the scriptures, retracted the concession which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from perusing them k. Even that liberty

⁸ Collier, vol. ii. p. 190. h Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.

Which met on the 22d of January 1543.

k 33 Hep. VIII. c. 1. The reading of the Bible, however, could not at that time have much effect in England, where so few persons had

was not granted without an apparent helitation, and CHAP. a dread of the consequences: These persons were allowed to read, fo it be done quietly and with good order. And the preamble to the act fets forth, "That many feditious and ignorant persons had " abused the liberty granted them of reading the " Bible, and that great diversity of opinion, animosi-" ties, tumults, and schisms, had been occasioned by " perverting the fense of the scriptures." It seemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for uni-

formity with the permission of free inquiry.

THE mass-book also passed under the king's revilal; and little alteration was as yet made in it: Some doubtful or fictitious faints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erazed. This latter precaution was likewife used with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was fold. The word Pope was carefully omitted or blotted out; as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecution of it did not rather imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people.

THE king took care about this time to clear the churches from another abuse which had creeped into them. Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted in derifion of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude for ancient principles and modes of worship was thereby gradually estaced m. We do not hear that the catholics attempted to retaliate, by employing this powerful engine against their adversaries, or endeavoured by like arts to expose that fanatical spirit by which it appears the reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps the people were not disposed to relish a jest on that side:

had learned to read. There were but 500 copies printed of this first authorised edition of the Bible; a book of which there are now several millions of copies in the kingdom.

m Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

VOL. IV.

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Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 113.

War with Scotland

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CHAP. Perhaps the greater fimplicity and the more spiritual abstract worship of the protestants, gave less hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on fensible representations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable concession which the king made to the catholic party, to suppress entirely these religious comedies.

> Thus Henry laboured incessantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal statutes, to bring his subjects to an uniformity in their religious fentiments: But as he entered himself with the greatest earnestness into all those scholastic disputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themselves to the study of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however present fear might restrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any fet of tenets or opinions prescribed to them.

HEXX A chi si bisanini sa tamana munia sana sa fara by restly great alledy bloom and the part of hardy a imply into participant, or exists to probable that They's med any a characteristic conference and a simple law owed his intentions, that subthed contoinably to senior or beautybear filed a consession leaves week and the leave, was also promise of the expeditions. He continued, bowe as up make preparations for wars and as from some the named in a condition of stimm of bedilden on backets allow or which he padesyout of a sale or beithings, the complanned or lands to the second, in declining the broughest offered on a service state ground of the quarter. But it of actionare a more specious colouring to the enterpties are mentioned other injunies i mannely, that the member had granted protection to time scattle to whe and flightly, and had detained force of give which Then's prevended

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CHAP. Petnaps the greater fungileity and the more fit. XXXII ritual ablined warling of the proveflants, gave let-

fentitible representations in was therefore, a very CHAP. XXXIII.

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War with Scotland—Victory at Solway—Death of James V.—Treaty with Scotland—New rupture—Rupture with France—A parliament --- Affairs of Scotland --- A parliament - Campaign in France - A parliament Peace with France and Scotland—Perfecutions—Execution of the earl of Surrey—Attainder of the duke of Norfolk-Death of the king His character—Miscellaneous transactions.

ENRY, being determined to avenge himself CHAP. on the king of Scots for slighting the advances XXXIII. on the king of Scots for flighting the advances which he had made him, would gladly have obtained a supply from parliament, in order to prosecute that War with Scotland. enterprise; but as he did not think it prudent to difcover his intentions, that affembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would understand no hints; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and as foon as he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify hostilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining the promifed interview; which was the real-ground of the quarrel n: But in order to give a more specious colouring to the enterprise, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to fome English rebels and fugitives, and had detained fome territory, which Henry pretended

Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the Fifth.



CHAP. belonged to England. He even revived the old claim to the vaffalage of Scotland, and he fummoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and fuperior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James sent the bishop of Aberdeen and fir James Learmont of Darfay to appeale his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was affembling his army at Newcastle, fir Robert Bowes, attended by fir Ralph Sadler, fir Ralph Evers, fir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and deftroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, who had been many years banished their country, and had fubfifted by Henry's bounty, joined the English army in this incursion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thousand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had polted a confiderable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vassals, was hastening to join Huntley when he met with the English army; and an action immediately enfued. During the engagement the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the English, afraid of being furrounded and overpowered, took to flight, and were purfued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and some other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners. A few only of small note fell in the skirmish .

THE duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to move from his camp at Newcastle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby Cumberland, Surrey, swie Herriord, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, His forces amounted he advanced to the borders.

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O Buchanan, lib. 14.

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to above twenty thousand men; and it required the CHAP. utmost efforts of Scotland to resist such a formidable armament. James had affembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as foon as he should be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The English passed the Tweed at Berwic, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelfo; but hearing that James had collected near thirty thousand men, they repassed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country P. The king of Scots, inflamed with a defire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the fignal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was furprised to find that his nobility, who were in general disaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him in his projected enterprise. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impression on the enemy. He fent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Solway frith; and he himfelf followed them at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion. Disgusted, however, at the refractory disposition of his nobles, he sent a message to the army, depriving lord Maxwel their general of his commission, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely disgusted with this alteration, and was ready to difband; when a fmall body of English appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Mufgraye. A panic feized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were purfued by the enemy. Few were 24th Nov. killed in this rout; for it was no action; but a great Isolway.

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XXXIII. 1542.

P Buchanan, lib. 14.

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CHAP. many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility: Among these the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwel, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all fent to London, and

given in custody to different noblemen.

THE king of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was aftonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, he loft all command of his temper on this difmal occafion. Rage against his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret for the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by fympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no iffue living; and hearing that his queen was fafely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child? Being told the latter; he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with " a woman," faid he, " and it will go with one: Many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own either by force of arms or % by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of confiderable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and perfonal courage, for repressing those disorders to which his kingdom during that age was fo much exposed. He executed juffice with impartiality and rigour; but as he supported the commonalty and the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The protestants also, whom he oppoled, have endeavoured to throw many stains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any confiderable imputation upon him % not flive a bight three noblemen more, recents of the kingdom during

14th Dec. Death of James the Fifth,

9 See note [O] at the end of the volume.

YAKAH Stowe, p. 584. Herbert, Burnet, Bucharan.

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HENRY was no fooner informed of his victory, and C H A P. of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as XXXIII. James had foreseen, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his fon Edward to the heiress of that kingdom. He called together the Scottish nobles who were his prisoners; and after reproaching them in fevere terms for their pretended breach of treaty, he began to foften his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which he hoped those disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty without ransom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their affent to a propofal which feemed fo natural and fo advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed: And they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in fome confusion.

THE pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions. had bestowed on Beaton the primate the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and property of the ecclefiaftics. Upon the death of his master, this man, apprehensive of the consequences, both to his party and to himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power; and for that purpose he is accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is faid, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during

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Death of James the

Stowe, p. 584. Herbert, Burnet, Buchanan.

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CAMAIP. the minority of the infant princess. At least, for XXXIII. historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that imthe fact, he had read to James a paper of that imbus which preceded his death, had given an imperfect affent and approbation . By virtue of this will Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having united his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the confent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretentions of

the earl of Arran.

JAMES earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III. and on that account seemed best entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal had intruded himself. The prospect also of his fuccession after a princes, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partifans; and though his character indicated little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propenfity which he had discovered for the opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of those innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vaffals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, affifted too by some money fent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed the uffody under the care of lord Seton; and a negohabits of the nation produced an extreme avertion

Iohn Knex, History of the Reformation, black again, and

Sadler's Letters, p. 161. Spotswood, p. 71. Buchanan, lib. 15.

tiation was commenced with fir Ralph Sadler, the CHAP English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following 1543.

conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen Treaty with Scotshould remain in Scotland till she should be ten years land. of age; that she should then be fent to England to be educated; that fix Scottish noblemen should immediately be delivered as hostages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges. By means of these equitable conditions the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with fuch dismal calamities, seemed to be fully composed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity. belt entitled to poffer that him

But the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seton to restore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all these measures, which appeared fo well concerted. He affembled the most confiderable ecclefiaftics; and having reprefented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large fum of money, by which, if entrusted to his management, he engaged to overturn the schemes of their enemies. Besides the partisans whom he acquired by pecuty niary motives, he roused up the zeal of those who were attached to the catholic worship; and he reprefented the union with England as the fure forerunner! of ruin to the church and to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their fouthern? neighbours was also an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make refistance, had procured a temporary affent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion

" Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, " Buchanan, lib. 15.

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XXXIII.

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C H A P. to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many infults from persons whom the cardinal had inftigated to commit those violences. in hopes of bringing on a rupture: But Sadler prudently diffembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, forefeeing the confequence of this refusal, fent a fummons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise which they had given, of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honoured him with prefents, gave him his liberty, and fent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers whom he had left as holtages *. wrong donord an

. This behaviour of the Scottish nobles, though it ture. reflected dishonour on the nation, was not disagreeable to the cardinal, who forefaw that all these perfons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was foon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the affiftance of that ancient ally during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Though the French king was fully fensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unfeafonable juncture. His pretentions on the Milanese, and his resent-

Buchanan, lib. 15.

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ment against Charles, had engaged him in a war with CHAP that potentate; and having made great though fruit- XXXIII less efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more disabled at present from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any fuccours to the Scots. Matthew Stuart earl of Lenox, as young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, fent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen-mother: And he promised that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should soon be dispatched after him. Arran the governor, seeing all these preparations against him, affembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant queen into his custody; but being repulsed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entrust that precious charge to four neutral perfons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areskines, Lindseys, and Levingstones. The arrival of Lenox, in the midst of these transactions, served to render the victory of the French party over the English still more indisputable ...

THE opposition which Henry met with in Scot- Rupture land from the French intrigues excited his refentment, with France. and farther confirmed the resolution which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint against the French king; which, though not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance those great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in separating himself entirely from the

7 Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

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CHAP, fee of Rome, and that he had broken his promise in that particular. He was diffatisfied that James his nephew had been allowed to marry, first Magdalene of France, then a princess of the house of Guise; and he confidered these alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots against the power of England 2. He had been informed of some railleries which the French king had thrown out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He was difgusted that Francis, after so many obligations which he owed him, had facrificed him be to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he complained that regular payments were never made of the fums due to him by France, and of the pension which had been stipulated. Impelled by all these motives, he alienated himself from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance. This league, befides stipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the fums which he owed him, and to confign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a fecurity for the regular payment of his pension for the future: In case these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the dutchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the dutchy of Burgundy, and fome other territories. That they might have a pretence for enforcing these claims, they fent a mesfage to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with fultan Solyman, and to make reparation

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² Pere Daniel.

^{*} Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768. vol. xv. p. 2.

for all the prejudice which Christendom had fustained CHAP. from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refusal, war was declared against him by the allies. It may be proper to remark, that the partifans of France objected to Charles his alliance with: the heretical king of England, as no less obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman: And they observed, that this league was at breach of the folemn promife which he had given to: Clement VII. never to make peace or alliance with England. obligations which he ow a

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WHILE the treaty with the emperor was nego-122d Jan. tiating, the king fummoned a new fession of parlia- A parliament, in order to obtain supplies for his projected; war with France. The parliament granted him a fubfidy, to be paid in three years: It was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three shillings in the pound upon any individual. The convocation gave the king fix shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater funis were always, even during the establishment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity av Which made the emperor Charles fay, when Henry diffolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden Ardres, as a fecurity for the regular payment of aggs

THE parliament also facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to statutes to They appointed that ? any sine counfellors should form a legal court for

They who were worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eightpence, from ten pounds to twenty pounds, fixteen pences from swenty and opwards, two shillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty, shillings to five pounds, paid eight pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, fixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three hillings.

Collier, vol. ii. p. 176.

punishing

1543-

CHAP. punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as of all parliaments, feemed, if the king had fo pleafed. the necessary consequence of this enormous law. He might iffue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals. not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable that lord Mountjoy entered a protest against this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that protest is the only one entered against any public bill during this whole

reign d.

IT was enacted this fession, That any spiritual person who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, the Erudition of a Christian Man, or contrary to any doctrine which he should thereafter promulgate, was to be admitted on the first conviction to renounce his error; on the fecond, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be hable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the prifoner was allowed to bring witnesses for his exculpation. These penalties were lighter than those which were formerly imposed on a denial of the real prefence: It was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the fix articles was still in force. But, in order to make the king more entirely mafter of his people, it was enacted, That he might hereafter at his pleasure change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause both parties were retained in subjection: So far as regarded religion, the king was invested in the fullest manner with the fole legislative authority in his kingdom: And all his fubjects were, under the feverest penalties, expressly bound to re-

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d Burnet, p. 322.

e 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. i.

ceive implicitly whatever doctrine he should please to CHAP. recommend to them. in the set of the rounded a later

THE reformers began to entertain hopes that this great power of the crown might still be employed in 12th July. their favour. The king married Catherine Par. widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue. and fomewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. The king's league with the emperor feemed a circumstance no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still

nearly balanced between the factions.

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THE advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles were inconfiderable during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves. Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor : Francis in person took the field early; and made himself master, without resistance, of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg: He afterwards took Landrecy, and added some fortifications to it. Charles having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and after taking almost every fortress in the dutchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he was pleafed to prescribe to him. Being then joined by a body of fix thousand English, he sat down before Landrecy, and covered the fiege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raise the siege: But while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of fome great event, the French king found means of throwing fuccour into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpole, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles, find-

Memoires du Bellay, lib. 10.

Affairs of Scotland.

C H A P. ing the feafon far advanced, despaired of success in his enterprise, and found it necessary to go into win-

ter-quarters.

THE vanity of Henry was flattered by the figure which he made in the great transactions on the continent: But the interests of his kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of fo indolent and unambitious a character, that had he not been stimulated by his friends and dependants, he never had afpired to any share in the administration; and when he found himself overpowered by the party of the queendowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, He even gave them a fure however dishonourable. pledge of his fincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himself to the Romish communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling. By this weakness and levity he lost his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the protestants, who were hitherto the chief support of his power, his mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire ascendant in the kingdom: The queendowager placed implicit confidence in him: The governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretention: Lenox alone was become an obstacle to his measures, and reduced him to some difficulty.

THE inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran made the interests of these two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cause, had flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown after their infant fovereign, this rivalship had tended still farther to rouse the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aspire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given him some pretensions to the regency; and as

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he was become affuming on account of the fervices C H A.P. which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found that fince he must choose between the friendship of Lenox and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more eafily governed, and who was invelted with present authority, was in every respect preserable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to fucceed in his pretenfions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the afcendancy, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion: he entered into a fecret correspondence with the English court; and he summoned his vassals and partifans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the protestant religion, or were on any account difcontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their fervices. In a little time he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but as he was a prudent man. he forefaw that Lenox could not long fublift to great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negotiation with him." He feduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: And Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Prefent peace was reflored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his sa m rosmand enemies.

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XXXIIIX

1544. Jan. 14. A parliament.

CHAP. MHILE the winter feafon restrained Henry from military operations, he fummoned a new parliament; in which a law was passed, such as he was pleased to dictate, with regard to the succession of the crown, After declaring that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male iffue, were first and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of fucceffion. This feemed a reasonable piece of justice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confusion; but it was impossible for Henry to do any thing, how laudable foever, without betraying, in some circumstance, his usual extravagance and caprice: Though he opened the way for these two princesses to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reverfed which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own issue, he might dispose of the crown as he pleased, by will or letters patent. He did not probably forefee, that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the passive instrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all its acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purpoles which he was so bent to the purpole; and that no perfon thould be andients

AN act passed, declaring that the king's whiat flyle should be "King of England, France, and "Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth the " supreme head of the church of England and Ire-"land." It feemed a palpable inconfilency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining its cause against Luther; and yet subjoin his ecclefialtical supremacy in opposition to the claims of that court.

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An act also passed for the remission of the debt CHAP. which the king had lately contracted by a general, loan, levied upon the people. It will eafily be believed, that after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary and But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer. And the basserros bas

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THE oaths which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclefiaftical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses to which they fwore had not been deemed entirely fatisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one h. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken. Jone or ment beriup

THE most commendable law to which the parliament gave their fanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the fix articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an acculation concerning any of the offences comprised in that fanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorised for the purpole; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any fuch offence before he was indicted. Any preacher accused of speaking in his fermon contrary to these articles, must be " Supreme head of the clayed within forty days of the

THE king always experienced the limits of his authority whenever he demanded subfidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not

taiming its caule against. Luther; and yet subjoin Pas Heil Von C. 12. Van A ag Heil Vin de les sid



CHAP. to hazard a refusal, he made no mention this season of a supply: But as his wars both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects: And he enhanced gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and filver from three faillings and ninepence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywife ferve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about feventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London a man fomewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was inrolled as a foot-soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty but by paybing a large composition t. These powers of the prerogative (which at that time passed unquestioned), tithe compelling of any man to ferve in any office, and the imprisoning of any man during pleasure, not nto mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered athe fovereign in a manner absolute master of the s person and property of every individual.

-mi Early this year the king fent a fleet and an army to invade Scotland. The fleet confifted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley lord Lifle commanded the fea-forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were difembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a trance with forces, agreement above a hundred

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Herbert. Stowe, p. 588. Baker, p. 292. & Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 508.

finall body which opposed them, they took that CHAP. town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were foon beaten down (for little or no refiltance was made); and the English first pillaged, and then let fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eastward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and deftroyed Haddington and Dunbar, then retreated into England; having loft only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making fome refistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry fettled a penfion on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to into priton, and obtained not his his bulives literatural later

HENRY's policy was blamed in this fudden and violent incursion; by which he inflamed the passions of the Scots, without fubduing their spirit; and it was commonly faid, that he did too much it he intended to folicit an alliance, and too dittle if he meant a conquest m. But the reason of his recalling the troops to foon, was his eagerness to carry on a projected enterprise against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces, amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Ca-

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Rymer, vol. xv. p. 23. 29.

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CHAP lais; Charles from the Low Countries: They were to enter on no frege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Francis could not oppose to these formidable preparations much above forty thousand men.

14th July. Campaign in France.

HENRY, having appointed the queen regent during his absence, passed over to Calais with thirty thoufand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet lord St. John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, fir Anthony Brown, fir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was foon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army which nothing on that frontier was able to relift. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the fide of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperialists. I III bagagas 18

THE emperor, with an army of near fixty thoufand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and, not to lose time while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he fat down before Luxembourg, which was furrendered to him: He thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meufe, which he took : Ligny met with the same face : He next laid fiege to St. Differ on the Marne, which though a weak place made a brave refiltance, under the count of Sancerre the governor, and the flege

was protracted beyond expectation. 9 21111

The emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were affembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontier, or thinking that the emperor had first broken his engagement, by forming sieges, or perhaps forefeeing at last the dangerous confe-

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quences of entitely subduing the French power, in- CHAP. flead of marching forward to Paris, fat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: The king himself that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corfe, a brave old foldier, who encouraged the garrifon to defend themselves to the last extremity against the viol diag English. He was killed during the course of the rath Sept. fiege, and the town was immediately furrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was after. wards beheaded for this dishonourable capitulation.

1544.

DURING the course of this siege Charles had taken St. Differ; and finding the feafon much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, fince all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have pretence for deferting his ally, he fent a mellenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raile it with honour, and that the emperor himself had first broken the concert by belieging St. Differ. This answer served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no 18th Sept, mention was made of England. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's fecond fon; and Francis in return withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in This peace, so advantageous to Francis, . Italy. was procured partly by the decifive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialifts at Cerifolles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great defire to turn his arms against the protestant princes in Germany. elisable forefering & A the dangerous confe-

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C.H.A.P. Charles ordered his troops to separate from the Eng. liff in Picardy; and Henry, finding himfelf obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign ferved to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of fense concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprises, made, at a great expence, an acquifition which was of no importance, mone out old

and the war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various fuccess. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and fir Bryan Latoun, made an introad into that kingdom; and having laid waste the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took possession of, and fortified. The governor affembled an army of eight thousand men, in order to dislodge them from this post; but he had no fooner opened his batteries before the place than a fudden panic feized him; he left the army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehensions lest they should deliver him into the hands of the English: But his own unwarlike spirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this dishonourable flight. The Scottish army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confusion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon and protected their rear, the English might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this fuccess, boatted to Henry that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important fervice. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty fuch acquisitions would be maintained against a warlike enemy, adonfedithe king to grant him, as his reward, the conquests of which he boasted so highly. The next inroad made by the English shewed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general led about five thou-Buchanan bb. it of Jummond

brol.

fand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in rad CHAP! vaging that country; when intelligence was brought him that some Scottish forces appeared hear the abbey of Melrofs. Angus had roufed the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for affembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a confiderable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they refolved to wait, on some high grounds near Ancram, the affault of the English. The Eng. 17th Feb. hith, whose past successes had taught them too much to despife the enemy, thought, when they faw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they hastened to attack them: The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprise of the English, who expected no refiftance, they foon put them to flight, and purfued them with confiderable flaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis some time after fent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thouland five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery lord of Lorges . Reinforced by thefe fuccours, the governor affembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no confiderable refistance, he retired into his own country, and difbanded his army. The earl of Hert-Evers's hones. This general led about five their

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Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

CHAP, ford, in revenue, committed ravages on the middle and west marches; and the war on both sides was fignalifed rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy. than by any confiderable advantage gained by either they retreated into their own country. There syrrag

> THE war likewise between France and England was not diffinguished this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred fail, besides gallies; and having embarked fome land-forces on board, he fent them to make a defcent in England. They failed to the life of Wight, where they found the English sleet lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It confisted not of above a hundred fail; and the admiral thought it most advisable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and except the finking of the Mary Role, one of the largest thips of the English fleet, the damage on both sides tearring of all her endowments :slderabilitioni ast

FRANCIS's chief intention in equipping fo great a feet, was to prevent the English from throwing fuccours into Boulogne, which he refolved to befiere; and for that purpose he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a confiderable dols of time and money, the fort was found fo ill confiructed, that he was obliged to abandon it a and though he had affembled on that frontier an army of near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any confiderable enterprife. Henry, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who having marched to Fleurines in the bishopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions: They received intelligence of a fu-

Beleair. Memoires du Bellay.

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perior army on the fide of France ready to intercept CHAP. thema Want of occupation and of pay foon produced a mutiny among them: And having feized the English commissaries as a fecurity for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There feems to have been some want of forelight in this expenfive armament.



THE great expence of these two wars maintained 23d Nov. by Henry, obliged him to fummon a new parlia- A parlia-ment. ment. The commons granted him a fublidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land to The spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to fave themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property: By one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the univerfities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels, and hospitals Henry was pleased with this concession, as it in creased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he foon took care to inform the univertities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generofity of the king, not to the protection of this fervile and profitute parliament and doing ve slind

THE profitute spirit of the parliament farther appeared in the preamble of a statute , in which they recognife the king to have always been, by the

Belesin, Memoires du I

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bled on that frontier an army of near for y thousand Those who possessed goods or money above five pounds and below ten, were to pay eight pence a pound: Those above ten pounds, a failling.

A chaintry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in forme cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priefts, daily to fay mais, or perform divine service for the use of the sounders, or such others as they appointed: Free chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the former. Jacob's Law Dict.

P 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1343.

word of God, fupreme head of the church of England; and acknowledge that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclefialtical persons, have no manner of jurifdiction but by his royal mandate: To him alone, fay they, and fuch persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclefiaftical, and to correct all manner of herefies, errors, vices, and fins whatfoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, control their words, and even direct their inward fentiments and opinions. The ruomud and others

The king made, in person, a speech to the parframent on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he faid, equalled what was ever paid by their anceftors to any king of England, he complained of their diffentions, disputes, and animolities in religion. He told them, that the feveral pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papilt and hypocrite: That he had permitted his people the use of the fcriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for difputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences, and in-Aruct their children and families: That it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was proftituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alchouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal pastors: And that he was forry to observe that the word of God, while it was the object of fo much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice;

7th Juine Peace with France land. tice; and that, though an imaginary knowledge for CHAP. much abounded, charity was daily going to decay 9. The king gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging speculation and dispute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable submission of opinion which he recommended. The but rewood Hull the

1545.

1546.

HENRY employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he fent over the earl of Hertford and lord Lifle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two-thirds of which confifted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of fmall moment enfued with the French; and no hopes of any confiderable progress could be entertained by either party. Henry, whose animosity against Francis was not violent, had given sufficient vent to his humour by this short war; and finding that from his great increase in corpulence and decay in firength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was defirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewise, on his part, was not averse to peace with England; because having lately lost his son the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and forefaw that hostilities must soon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commissioners, therefore, having met at Campe, 2 7th June. fmall place between Ardres and Guifnes, the articles Peace with were foon agreed on, and the peace figned by them, and Scot-The chief conditions were, that Henry flould re- land. tain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was fettled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of 500,000 livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which coft him above one million three hundred God, while it was the chieft of for much anxious

orig niedt ne Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534. nortaluoed

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CHAP, and forty thousand pounds sterlings, was a bad and a chargeable fecurity for a debt which was not a third of the value in a tiemps to insular and to brid

THE king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leifure to give his attention to domestic affairs; particularly to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was fo intent. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to permit that the litany, a confiderable part of the fervice, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been fornewhat discouraged by the severe law of the fix articles. One petition of the new litany was a prayer to lave us from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities. Granmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was lent on an embally to the emperor: But Gardiner having written to the king, that if he carried his opposition against the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the fuccels of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most fincere and powerful friend that he possessed at court, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk: The queen dowager of France, confort to Suffolk, had died some years before. This nobleman is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk feems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was fitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to express his own forrow for the lofs, and to celebrate the meand protection. The council were confounded; and

Herbert. Stowe.

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1546.

rits, of the deceased. He declared, that during the CHAP. whole course of their friendship, his brother in-law XXXIII had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. " Is there any of you, my lords, "who can fay as much?" When the king subjoined these words, he looked round in all their faces, and faw that confusion which the consciousness of

fecret guilt naturally threw upon them. William visit CRANMER himself, when bereaved of this support, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The eatholies took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the privi mate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the fecret supports of herely. Henry, fee ing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and defired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promiting that, if he were found guilty, he should be committed to prison, and brought to condign punishment. Every body new? confidered the primate as loft; and his old friends from interested views, as well as the opposite party; from animofity, began to show him marks of mey glect and difregard. He was obliged to stand fe veral hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to fend him to the Tower. Crans mer faid, that he appealed to the king himfelf; and finding his appeal difregarded, he produced a ring which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and

Herbert Space

1546.

CHAP. when they came before the king, he reproved them in the feverest terms; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: But he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to teach them, by the severest discipline, fince gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his fervice. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and faid, that their only intention was to fet the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial: And Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a fign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more fincere on his part, than is usual in such torced compliances to the bost too ban , was

Persecutions.

Bur though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity all others who prefumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the real presence. Anne Asoue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty , who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herfelf, was accused of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, instead of shewing indulgence to the weakness of her sex and age, was but the more provoked that a woman should dare to oppose his theological fentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a feeming recantation; but the qualified it with fome referves, which did not fatisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into prison, and the there employed herfelf in composing prayers and discourses, by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost extremity rather than relinquish

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Burnet, vol. i. p. 343, 344. Antiq. Brit, in vita Cranm,

Bale. Speed, 780.

her religious principles. She even wrote to the CHAP. king, and told him, that as to the Lord's supper, the believed as much as Christ himself had faid of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required: But while she could not be brought to acknowledge an affent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a fresh infult. The chancellor Wriothefely, who had fucceeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was fent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her: But she maintained a laudable sidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in preserving fecreey. Some authors w add an extraordinary circamstance: That the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther; but that officer refused compliance: The chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refusal: Upon which that magistrate, who was otherwise a person of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it to violently that he almost tore her body afunder. Her constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her perfecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being fo diffocated by the rack that the could not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair. of ogether with her were conducted Nicholas Belenian a priest, John Lassels of the king's household, and John Adams a taylor, who had been conand the racte on plant of herself in composit

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W Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 299. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance : Fox, however, transcribes her own paper, where the relates it. I must add, in justice to the king, that he disapproved of Wriothesely's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.



defined for the same crime to the same punishment. They were all tied to the stake; and in that dreadful fituation the chancellor sent to inform them that their pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should instantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the slames, which consumed them. Wriothesely did not consider, that this public and noted situation interested their honour the more to maintain a steady

perfeverance.

Though the fecrecy and fidelity of Anne Afcue faved the queen from this peril, that princess soon after fell into a new danger, from which the narrowly escaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevin and paffionate. The queen attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every foothing art and compliance, to allay those gulls of humour to which he was become so subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catherine, whose good sense enabled her to discourse on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being fecretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praifed the king's anxious concern for preferving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented, that the more elevated the person was who was chaffiled, and the more near to his person, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and the more glorious would the facrifice

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facrifice appear to posterity. The chancellor, being CHAP. confulted, was engaged by religious zeal to fecond these topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counfellors, went fo far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. Wriothefely executed his commands; and foon after brought the paper to him to be figned: For as it was high treason to throw flander upon the queen, he might otherwise have been questioned for his temerity. By some means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was fensible of the extreme danger to which the was exposed; but did not despair of being able, by her prudence and address, still to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more ferene difposition than she had reason to expect. He entered on the subject which was so familiar to him; and he feemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and remarked, that fuch profound speculations were ill fuited to the natural imbecility of her fex. Women, the faid, by their first creation, were made subject to men: The male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: It belonged to the husband to chuse principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the fentiments of her husband: And as to herfelf, it was doubly her duty, being bleft with a husband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to chuse principles for his own family, but for the most wife and knowing of every nation. " Not fo! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and "better fitted to give than receive instruction." She meekly replied, that the was fensible how little she facrifice

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XXXIII. 1546.

C H A P. she was entitled to these praises; that though she ufually declined not any conversation, however fublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could ferve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that the found the convertation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and the had ventured fometimes to feign a contrariety of fentiments, in order to give him the pleafure of refuting her; and that she also proposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics whence she had observed by frequent experience that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, "fweetheart?" replied the king, "then are we " perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and fent her away with affurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this fudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, pursuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: She even overheard the appellations of knave, fool, and beaft, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his prefence: She afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger: He faid to her, " Poor foul! you know of not how ill entitled this man is to your good " offices." Thenceforth the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favour and good opinion x.

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^{*} Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 58.

BUT Henry's tyrannical disposition, source by ill CHAP. health, burst out foon after to the destruction of a man who possessed a much superior rank to that of Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father, during this whole reign, and even a part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greatest subjects in the kingdom, and had rendered confiderable fervice to the crown. The duke himfelf had in his youth acquired reputation by naval enterprifes: He had much contributed to the victory gained over the Scots at Flouden: He had suppressed a dangerous rebellion in the North: And he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions against France. Fortune feemed to conspire with his own industry, in raising him to the greatest elevation. From the favours heaped on him by the crown he had acquired an immense estate: The king had successively been married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural fon, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter: Besides his descent from the ancient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had espouled a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was descended by a female from Edward III.: And as he was believed still to adhere secretly to the ancient religion, he was regarded, both abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic party. But all thefe circumstances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealousy of Henry; and he foresaw danger, during his son's minority, both to the public tranquillity and to the new ecclefialtical fystem, from the attempts of fo potent a subject. But nothing tended more to expose Norfolk to the king's displeasure, than the prejudices which Henry had entertained against the earl of Surrey, son of that nobleman.

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SURREY was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had diftinguished himself by every accomplish-

XXXIII. 1546.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

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complishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. He excelled in all the military exercifes which were then in request: He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: had made some successful attempts in poetry; being finitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praifes of his mistress, by his pen and his lance, in every marque and tournament. His spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and referve which his fituation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne when that town was taken by Henry; but though his personal bravery was unquestioned, he had been unfortunate in some rencounters with the French. The king, somewhat displeased with his conduct, had fent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was fo imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers, on account of this affront which was put upon him. And as he had refused to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other propofal of marriage, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of espousing the lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition.

ACTUATED by all these motives, and perhaps influenced by that old disgust with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inspired him against her whole family, he gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the same day confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries seem ever to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown during this whole reign. He was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians who were suspected to be spies; a servant

12th Dec.

1547.

Execution of the earl of Surrey.

XXXIII.

of his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, CHAIR whence he was suspected of holding a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the 15+7. arms of Edward the Confessor on his scutcheon, which made him be fuspected of aspiring to the crown, though both he and his ancestors had openly, during the course of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, condemned the earl of Surrey for high treason; and their sentence was soon after executed

upon him.

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THE innocence of the duke of Norfolk was ftill, Attainder if possible, more apparent than that of his son; and of the his fervices to the crown had been greater. His Norfolk. dutchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all the knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the defigns of the court: Yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime than his once faying that the king was fickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into diforders, through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence: Soon after, he embraced a more proper expedient for appealing Henry, by making a fubmission and confession, such as his enemies required: But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He affembled a parlia- 14th Jan. ment, as the furest and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny; and the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, paffed a bill of attainder against him, and fent it down to the commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and

though

XXXIII. 1547.

CHAP. though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in to unjust a profecution; and he retired to his feat at Croydon . The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing left Norfolk should escape him, he fent a message to the commons, by which he defired them to hasten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the enfuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The oblequious commons obeyed his directions, though founded on fo frivolous a pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal affent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought adviseable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a fentence fo unjust and tyrannical.

THE king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days all those near him plainly faw his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durit inform him of his condition; and as fome perfons during this reign had fuffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death ', every one was afraid left in the transports of his fury he might on this pretence punish capitally the author of fuch friendly intelligence. At last fir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal fecret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his refignation; and defired that Cranmer might be f

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y Burnet, vol. i. p. 348. Fox.

^{*} Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles in the year 1541.

fent for But before the prelate arrived he was C H A P. speechless, though he still seemed to reminutis fenfes. Cranmer defired him to give fome fight of his dying in the faith of Christ : He squeezed the Death of prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a the king. reign of thirty-feven years and nine months; and in the fifty fixth year of his age. no allid out nother of

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THE king had made his will near a month before his demile; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth: The two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without confent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor fon. After his own children, he fettled the fuccession on Frances Brandon marchioness of Dorfet, elder daughter of his fifter the French queen; then on Eleanor countels of Cumberland, the fecond daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder fifter, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but as he subjoined, that after the failure of the French queen's posterity the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained to the last that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been fo much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may fuggest the same reflection with regard to the strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: He left money for masses to be said for delivering

C H A P. his foul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions established by his ancestors and others for the benefit of their fouls; and had even 1547. left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his later years; he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care at least of his own future repose, and to adhere to the fafer fide of

the question 1.

Peaners.

His character.

IT is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: He was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best The absolute unconcharacter and description. trolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him in some degree to the appellation of a great prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a good one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercifing dominion over men, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: And though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and folid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who in every controverfy was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: Violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, prefumption, caprice: But neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at

intervals

² See his will in Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer, p. 110. no reasonable ground to suspect its authenticity.

intervals altogether destitute of virtues: He was C H A P. fincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign ferved to display his faults in their full light: The treatment which he met with from the court of Rome provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme severity. But it must at the fame time be acknowledged, that his fituation tended to throw an additional luftre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: The emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithstanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: The extensive powers of his prerogative, and the fubmissive, not to say slavish disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is fo much distinguished in the English which qualified baim to megiv hiltory.

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Ir may feem a little extraordinary, that notwithflanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects; but never was the object of their hatred: He feems even in some degree to have possessed to the last their love and affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: His magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes: And it may be faid with truth, that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that like eaftern flaves they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercifed over themselves, and at their own expence.

WITH regard to foreign states, Henry appears long to have supported an intercourse of friendship with XXXIII. 1547.

C H A P. Francis, more fincere and difinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealoufy of the emperor Charles, and fome refemblance in their characters (though the comparison sets the French monarch in a very superior and advantageous light,) ferved as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is faid to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline: He foretold that he should not long furvive his friend : And he died in about two months after him.

Miscellaneous tranfactions.

THERE, were ten parliaments fummoned by Henry VIII. and twenty-three fessions held. The whole time in which these parliaments fat during this long reign exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call these affemblies more frequently: But though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devoted submission to Henry's will, added to their earnest desire of soon returning to their country-feats, produced a quick dispatch of the bills, and made the fessions of short duration. All the king's caprices were indeed blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the fafety or liberty of the fubject. Befides the violene profecution of whatever he was pleafed to term herefy, the laws of treason were multiplied heyond all former precedent. Even words to the disparagement of the king, queen, or royal issue, were subjected to that penalty; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; infomuch that had they been firiclly executed, every man without exception must have fallen under the penalty of

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h H treason. By one statute , for instance, it was de- CHAP. clared treason to affert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: By another it was treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the princeffes Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them fpurious, would no doubt have been construed to their flander. Nor would even a profound filence, with regard to these delicate points, be able to fave a person from such penalties. For by the former statute, whoever refused to answer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was subjected to the pains of treason. The king, therefore, needed only propose to any one a question with regard to the legality of either of his first marriages: If the person were filent, he was a traitor by law: If he answered, either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no less a traitor. So monstrous were the inconfistencies which arose from the furious pallions of the king, and the flavish submission of his parliaments. It is hard to fay whether these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to This bar This a formed delign of tyranny.

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In may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce: Nothing can better show the genius of the age than such a review of the laws.

THE abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy: The church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities: The

d 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. e 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

CHAP, XXXIII.

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privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon'. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy; it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason ; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason b: And it limited them in other particulars'. The farther progress of the reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other fubjects; and also abolished entirely the privileges of fanctuaries. These confequences were implied in the neglect of the larved abroad was allowed to abengte his .wal nones

THE only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age, was the reviving and extending of fome old laws enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bowk: Butts were ordered to be erected in every parish; And every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wich for the fervice of the common people ". The use of cross-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited a What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was that they carried halberts with them, by which they were enabled upon occasion to engage in close fight with the enemy . Frequent musters or arrays were also made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete fuit of armour or harnels, as it was called?

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f 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
b 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
l 1 Ibid. 1 Ibid.

k 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. 1 Ibid. 1 Thid. 1 Ibid. 1 Thid. 1 Ibid. 1 Ibid. 1 Thid. 1 Ibid. 1

1547.

The martial fpirit of the English, during that age, C H A P. rendered this precaution, it was thought, fufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an absolute power of commanding the service of all his subjects, he could instantly, in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleafed. When no faction or division prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men 9. Discipline, however, was an advantage wanting to those troops; though the garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and Tournay first, Boulogne afterwards, ferved to increase the number. Every one who ferved abroad was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees. A general permission was granted to dispose of land by will. The parliament was to little jealous of its privileges (which indeed were at that time scarcely worth preserving), that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the lower house some bill regarding tin, was feverely treated by the Stannery courts in Cornwall: Heavy fines were imposed on him; and upon his refufal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: Yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in such a paltry court, was to enact, That no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament". This prohibition, however, must be supposed to extend only to the inferior courts: For as to the king, and privy-council, and starchamber, they were fearcely bound by any lawely

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⁹ Hall, fol. 235. Hollingshed, p. 547. Stowe, p. 577.

Hall, fol. 68.

¹⁴ and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

^{4 34} and 34 Hen. VIII. C. 5. 1940 Proof See for thest a

⁴ Hen. VIII. c. 8.

C H A P. XXXIII.

THERE is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which thews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the fovereign w. This duty had been voted to every king fince Henry IV. during the term of his own life only: Yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it fix years without any law; and though there had been four parliaments affembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or restrain him from levying it. At last the parliament resolved to give him that supply; but even in this concession they plainly show themselves at a loss to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himself to levy it. They say that the imposition was made to endureduring the natural life of thelate king, and no longer: They yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the present king: They observe that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet make no scruple to call that imposition the king's due: They affirm, that he had fuffained great and manifold losses by those who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a remedy, they vote him that fupply during his life-time, and no longer. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this last clause, all his successors for more than a century persevered in the like irregular practice: If a practice may deferve that epithet in which the whole nation acquiesced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles I. attempted to continue in the fame courfe. which had now received the fanction of many generations, fo much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempest was excited by it; and historians, partial or ignorant, still represent this meafure as a most violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince. de sen bellebe bette

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THE king was allowed to make laws for Wales CHAP. without confent of parliament. It was forgotten, that with regard both to Wales and England, the limitation was abolished by the statute which gave to the royal proclamations the force of laws.

1547.

THE foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependance of those countries on each other; and the great loss fultained by both in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the lovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and though the king usually bore a greater friendship to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

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In 1528, holtilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; and the inconvenience was foon felt on both fides. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it from the clothiers. and the clothiers were obliged to difmifs their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appeale them, lent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual: They told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual and, notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer from them . An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the attempted to continue whileh have cantil

IT was not till the end of this reign that any fallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England. The little of these vegetables that was used, was formerly imported from Hol land and Flanders Queen Catherine, when the wanted a fallad, was obliged to dispatch a meffen-

x 34 Hen. VIII. y Hall, folio 174. 2 Anderson, vol. i. p. 338. WOL. IV. ger

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CHAP. ger thither on purpose. The use of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the

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Foreign artificers, in general, much furpaffed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality: Hence the violent animosity which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were fettled in England. They had the affurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradefmen; and, in the year 1517, being moved by the feditious fermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raifed an infurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer fort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for infulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great diforders; killed fome of his fervants; and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appeale them; nor fir Thomas More, late under-sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened cardinal Wolfey with fome infult; and he thought it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey feized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and feveral others, were fent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen The other criminals, to the more were executed. number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees,

knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that CHAP. time how to pardon; he dismissed them without farther punishment 2.

1547.

So great was the number of foreign artifans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when Henry became jealous of their favour for queen Catherine b. Henry himself confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed among the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives; and obliged them, from idleness, to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities . He also afferts, that the vast multitude of foreigners raised the price of grain and bread . And to prevent an increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited from having above two foreigners in their house, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealouly arose against the foreign merchants; and, to appeale it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties imposed upon aliens. The parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artifans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their skill. The prisoners in the kingdom for debts and crimes are afferted, in an act of parliament, to be fixty thousand persons and above f; which is scarcely credible. Harrison afferts that 72,000 criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery, which would amount nearly to 2000 a-year. He adds, that in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not punished capitally 400 in a year: It appears that, in all England, there are not at present fifty executed for those crimes. If these facts be just, there has been a great im-

f 3 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

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^a Stowe, 505. Hollingshed, 840. b Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 232. c 21 Hen. VIII. d Ibid. e 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

CHAP. XXXIII. provement in morals fince the reign of Henry VIII. And this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increase of industry and of the arts, which have given maintenance, and, what is almost of equal importance, occupation, to the lower classes.

THERE is a remarkable clause in a statute passed near the beginning of this reign s, by which we might be induced to believe that England was extremely decayed from the flourishing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II. that no magistrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep affize, should, during the continuance of his magistracy, fell, either in wholefale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law feemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the affize: Yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reason assigned is, that " fince the making of "that statute and ordinance, many and the most " part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns cor-"porate, within the realm of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by mer-" chants, and men of fuch fubstance as at the time 66 of making that statute; For at this day, the dwellfeers and inhabitants of the fame cities and boroughs "are commonly bakers, vintners, fifthmongers, " and other victuallers, and there remain few others "to bear the offices." Men have fuch a propenfity to exalt past times above the present, that it feems dangerous to credit this reasoning of the parliament, without farther evidence to support it. So different are the views in which the same object appears, that fome may be inclined to draw an oppofite inference from this fact. A more regular police was established in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any former period, and a stricter administration of justice; an advantage which induced the men of

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landed property to leave the provincial towns, and CHAP. to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolfey, in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the increase of riches, that the customs had increased beyond what they were formerly hood sonatioqui

XXXIII. 1547.

But if there were really a decay of commerce, and industry, and populousness in England, the flatutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, and retrenching holidays, circumstances of confiderable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted : Luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes 12 and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheefe, and Butter. A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal m. Beef and pork were ordered to be fold at a halfpenny a pound: Mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute fays, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer fort. This act was afterwards repealed "... to nem bag stands

THE practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pafturage, still continued o; as appears by the new laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm-houses were allowed to fall to decay?. The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock was restrained to two thousands. Sometimes, fays the statute, one proprietor, or far-

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Hill, folio tro. 1 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. k I Hen. VIII. c, 14 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7. 1 25 Hen. VIII. c 2. 31 34 Hen. VIII, c. 3. 30 11 33 Hen. VIII. clis. P 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII. O Strype, vol. i. p. 392.

^{9 25} Hen. VIII. C. 13. moli 2



mer, would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the increasing price of mutton to this increase of sheep: Because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure. It is more probable that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money: For it seems almost impossible that such a commodity could be engrossed.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about sifteen-pence of our present money. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper: A presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants; one of the circumstances in government which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent.; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly, all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal: And the prejudices still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed

in the following reign.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolizing laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in gene-

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^{9 25} Hen. VIII. c. 13. Anderson, vol. i. p. 374. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

ral . There remain still too many traces of simi- CHAP. lar absurdities. In the subsequent reign, the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradefmen of different kinds, were again thut up by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited from exercifing any trade who

was not of the corporation ". HENRY, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolfey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College: But upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern w. But Henry afterwards reflored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The students divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and fometimes fought with as great animofity as was formerly exercifed by those holtile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it also divided the Grecians themselves into parties; and it was remarked that the catholics favoured the former pronunciation, the protestants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and counsel to suppress innovations in this particular, and to preferve the corrupt found of the Greek alphabet. So little liberty was then allowed of any kind! The penalties inflicted upon the new pro-

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t 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 24. u 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. w Strype, vol. i. p. 117.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1547·

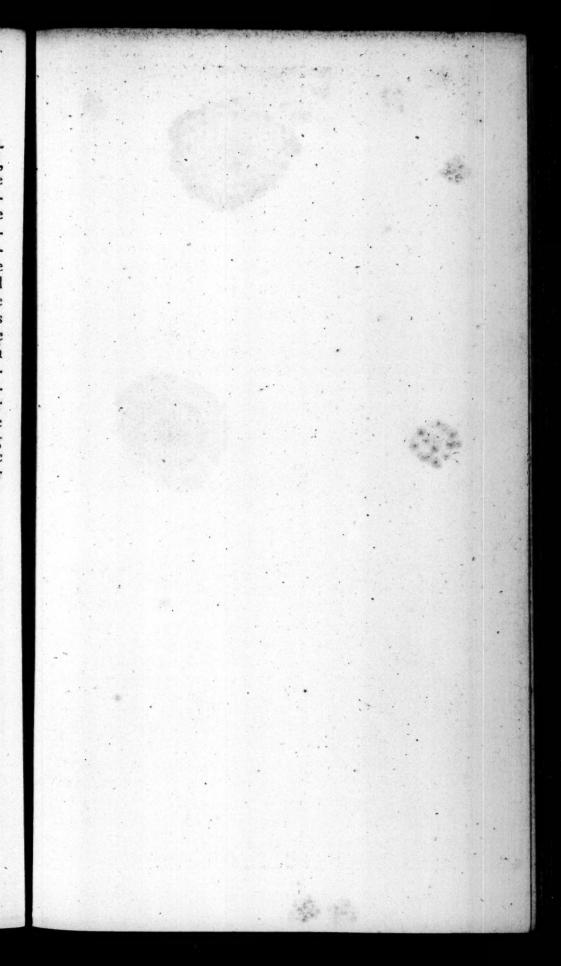
nunciation were no less than whipping, degradation, and expulsion; and the bishop declared, that. rather than permit the liberty of innovating in the pronunciation of the Greek alphabet, it were better that the language itself were totally banished the universities. The introduction of the Greek language into Oxford excited the emulation of Cambridge . Wolfey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford with copies of all the manuscripts that were in the Vatican. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England: Erasmus speaks with great fatisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge 2. It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has the least pretension to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, feems to come the nearest to the character of a claffical author.

Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 245. 7 Ibid. 249. 2 Epist. ad Banisium. Also Epist. p. 368.

CHAP.

1547. State of the regen-

imposed on the government of his infant longs well as by the limitations of the Inceelion, had analysed to reign even after his decease; and he imagined that his ministers, who had always been so obsequious to him during his lifetune, would never afterwards depart from the plan which he had always to them. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was then only a few months passed on the appointed fixteen executors; to whom the kingdom. Their names were, Granuer, architeking of Carterbury; ford Wriothslely, chancelloif, of Carterbury; ford Wriothslely, chancelloif.





From an Original Picture by Holben in Kensington Palace . " Congraved by Cha' Show

London Pat San 11 . 1788 by T Cadell in the Swand .

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courrenance given to least, by this king and his

State of the regency—Innovations in the regency Heriford protector—Reformation completed
Gardiner's opposition—Foreign affairs— Progress of the Reformation in Scotland-Affast fination of cardinal Beaton-Conduct of the war with Scotland Battle of Pinkey A parlia ment Farther progress of the reformation Affairs of Scotland-Young queen of Scots fent into France Cabals of lord Seymour Dudley earl of Warwick—A parliament—At-tainder of lord Seymour—His execution—Ec-clehalical affairs. clesiastical affairs. Epilt ad Basinana, Alio Kolik

THE late king, by the regulations which he CHAP. imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by the limitations of the fuccession, had projected to reign even after his decease; and he State of imagined that his ministers, who had always been fo obsequious to him during his lifetime, would never afterwards depart from the plan which he had traced out to them. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was then only a few months past nine, he appointed fixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesely, chancellor;

XXXIV. the regenXXXIV. 1547.

CHAP. lor; lord St. John, great mafter; lord Ruffel, privy feal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; vifcount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; fir Anthony Brown, master of horse; fir William Paget, secretary of state; fir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; fir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, fir Anthony Denny, and fir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; fir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counfellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only affift with their advice when any affair was laid before them. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Effex; fir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; fir John Gage, comptroller; fir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; fir William Petre, fecretary of state; fir Richard Rich, fir John Baker, fir Ralph Sadler, fir Thomas Seymour, fir Richard Southwel, and fir Edmund Peckham . The usual caprice of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination; while he appointed feveral perfons of inferior station among his executors, and gave only the place of councellor to a person of such high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to fir Thomas Seythey acquesced the mour, the king's uncle.

Innovations in the regency.

SCHOOL

Bur the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late king in a material article. No fooner were they met, than it was fuggested, that the government would lofe its dignity, for want of fome head, who might represent the royal majesty, who might receive addreffes from foreign ambaffadors, to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad might be carried, and whose name might be employed in all orders

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^{*} Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 457.

1547.

and proclamations: And as the king's will feemed C HAP. to labour under a defect in this particular, it was deemed necessary to supply it, by chusing a protector; who, though he should possess all the exterior fymbols of royal dignity, should yet be bound, in every act of power, to follow the opinion of the executors b. This proposal was very disagreeable to chancellor Wriothefely. That magistrate, a man of an active spirit and high ambition, found himself, by his office, entitled to the first rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew that this prelate had no talent or inclination for state affairs, he hoped that the direction of public bufiness would of course devolve in a great measure upon himself. He opposed therefore the proposal of chusing a protector; and represented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the fame authority which had established it. But he feems to have flood alone in the opposition. The executors and counsellors were mostly courtiers, who had been raifed by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and as they had been fufficiently accustomed to submission during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretenfions to govern the nation by their own authority. they acquiefced the more willingly in a proposal which feemed calculated for preferving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to Hertford name a protector, the choice fell of course on the protector, earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and, poffeffing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any separate interest, which might lead him to endanger Edward's person or his authority '. The public was informed by proclamation of this

b Burnet, vol. ii, p. 5, c Heylin, Hift. Ref. Edw. VI. HIE change



CHAP, change in the administration; and dispatches were fent to all foreign courts to give them intimation of it. All those who were possessed of any office refigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submisfion. Care was taken to infert in their new commissions, that they held their offices during pleafured: And it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclefiaftical as civil, is originally derived from the

THE executors in their next measure showed a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of iffue; and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved, either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution; and in his will he charged his executors to make good all his promifes'. That they might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, sir William Paget, fir Anthony Denny, and fir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency; and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promifes, their testimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling of these engagements. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, mareschal and lord treafurer: Wriothefely, earl of Southampton; the earl of Effex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Liste,

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Collier, vol. ii. p. 218. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. Strype's Mein. e Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141. of Cranm. p. 141.

earl of Warwic; fir Thomas Seymour, lord Sey- CHAP. mour of Sudley, and admiral; fir Richard Rich, fir William Willoughby, fir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron . Several to whom the fame dignity was offered, refused it; because the other part of the king's promifes, the bestowing of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, as also Somerset the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries and prebends. For, among many other invafions of ecclefiaftical privileges and property, this irregular practice of bestowing spiritual benefices on laymen began now to prevail.

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THE earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions, which had fecretly prevailed even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leifure for attending to public bufiness, had, of himself and from his own authority, put the great feal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellafis, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. This measure feemed very exceptionable; and the more fo, as two of the commissioners being canonifts, the lawyers suspected that by this nomination the chancellor had intended to differedit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to deprefs Southampton. They confulted the judges with regard to fo unufual a cale, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his prefumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great feal, and was even liable to punishment.

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C H A P. The council fummoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lofe it without a trial in parliament; that if the commission which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill confequences of it be eafily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorised. But the council, notwithstanding these topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great feal; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure " room and and or on

THE removal of Southampton increased the protector's authority, as well as tended to suppress faction in the regency; yet was not Somerfet contented with this advantage: His ambition carried him to feek still farther acquisitions. On pretence that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a fufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by 12 March. which he entirely overturned the will of Harry VIII. produced a total revolution in the government, and may feem even to have subverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, confifting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: He referved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure: And he was bound to confult with fuch only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewife empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public fervice, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever i. Even had this patent been more moderate in its

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i Burnet, vol. ii. Records, No 6. h Hollingshed, p. 979.

concessions, and had it been drawn by directions CHAP. from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might justly be questioned; fince it feems effential to a trust of this nature to be exercised by the persons entrusted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: But as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not fo much as mentioned, appears to have been furreptitiously obtained from a minor king, the protectorship of Somerset was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to justify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their present acquiescence in the new establishment, made it be univerfally fubmitted to; and as the young king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was also in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. All men of fense likewise, who faw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed it the more necessary to entrust the government to one person, who might check the exorbitancies of faction, and enfure the public tranquillity. And though some clauses of the patent feemed to imply a formal subversion of all limited government, fo little jealoufy was then usually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretentions of this nature, advanced by any person possessed of sovereign power. The actual exercise alone of arbitrary administration, and that in many, and great, and flagrant, and unpopular instances, was able fometimes to give some umbrage to the nation.

THE extensive authority and imperious character Reformaof Henry had retained the partifans of both reli- tion comgions in subjection; but, upon his demise, the hopes pleted. of the protestants, and the fears of the catholics, began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes to more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as a fecret partifan of the re-

XXXIV.

1547-

CHAP, formers; and being now freed from reftraint he scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting fill more of the protestant innovations. He took care that all persons entrusted with the king's education should be attached to the same principles: and as the young prince discovered a zeal for every kind of literature, especially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men forefaw, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themfelves in favour of those tenets which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council feemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion; and most of the counsellors appeared even fanguine in forwarding the progress of the reformation. The riches, which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable k. Their rapacity also, the chief fource of their reforming spirit, was excited by the prospect of pillaging the fecular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew that while any share of the old principles remained, or any regard to the ecclefiaftics, they could never hope to succeed in that enterprise is a mile of from a

THE numerous and burthenfome superstitions, with which the Romish church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior observances were zealously proscribed by them as hindrances to their spiritual contemplations, and

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obstructions to their immediate converse with hea- CHAP. ven. Many circumstances concurred to inflame this daring spirit; the novelty itself of their doctrines, the triumph of making profelytes, the furious perfecutions to which they were exposed, their animosity against the ancient tenets and practices, and the necessity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depressing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the ecclefiaftics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the opposition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with confequences, which, though less durable, were, for some time, not less dangerous than those which were connected with the ancient superstition. But as the magistrate took the lead in England, the transition was more gradual; much of the ancient religion was still preserved; and a reasonable degree of subordination was retained in discipline, as well as some pomp, order, and ceremony in public worship.

THE protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by infenfible innovations, to that system of doctrine and discipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect. He probably also foresaw that a system, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be most lasting; and that a devotion merely spiritual was fitted only for the first fervours of a new feet, and upon the relaxation of these naturally gave place to the inroads of superstition. He feems, therefore, to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, being fuited to a great and fettled government, might fland as a perpetual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished, or entirely evaporated.

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THE Vol. IV.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1547-

Gardiner's opposition.

THE person who opposed, with greatest authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency. on account of late difgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. This prelate still continued to magnify the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and fincerely revered by the nation; and he infifted on the prudence of persevering, at least till the young king's majority, in the ecclefiastical model established by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were now openly attacked by the protestants; and he represented them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude . He even deigned to write an apology for boly water, which bishop Ridley had decried in a sermon; and he maintained that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind ". Above all, he infifted that the laws ought to be observed, that the constitution ought to be preserved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the fovereign, in oppofition to an act of parliament " mys to

Bur though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient at least to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with an immediate exercise of authority, this plea could scarcely in the present case be maintained with any plaufibility by Gardiner., An act of parliament had invested the crown with a legislative power; and royal proclamations, even

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T Fox, vol. ii. p. 712. m Ibid. p. 724.

Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. Fox, vol. ii. dan q and To mold.

during a minority, were armed with the force of CHAP. laws. The protector, finding himself supported by this statute, was determined to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and having fufpended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England'. The visitors confilted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had fix circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerfet and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain for the present, all images which had not been abused to idolatry; and to instruct the people not to despise fuch ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the fprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or using of confecrated candles, in order to drive away the devil P.

Bur nothing required more the correcting hand of authority than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and superstitions. The court of augmentation, in order to ease the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and these men were led by interest, as well as by inclination, to support those principles which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to restrain the topics of their fermons: Twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people: And all of them were prohibited, without express permission, from

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Mem. Cranm. p. 146, 147, &c. P Burnet, vol. ii. p. 28. diffring U 2 preach.

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Foreign

affairs.

C H A P. preaching any where but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the catholic divines; while the protestant, by the grant of particular licences, should be al-

lowed unbounded liberty.

BONNER made some opposition to these measures; but foon after retracted and acquiesced, was more high-spirited and more steady. He reprefented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. "dangerous thing," faid he, "to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands, nor govern their indifcretions at pleasure. "For my part," faid he, on another occasion, my fole concern is, to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage, Provided this point is fecured, I am not folicitous about the rest. I am already by nature condemned to death: No man can give me a pardon from this fentence; nor fo much as procure me a reprieve. To speak " my mind, and to act as my confeience directs, are two branches of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in speech, and integrity in action, are entertaining qualities: They will flick by a man when every thing elfe takes its leave; and I mult not relign them upon any confideration. "The best on it is, if I do not throw them away myfelf, no man can force them from me: But if I give them up, then I am ruined by myfelf, and deferve to lose all my preferments ." This oppolition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was fent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity. ammoned a general

9 Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. Bibliotheca Britannica, Article GARDINER.

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One of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner CHAP. against the new homilies, was, that they defined, with the most metaphysical precision, the doctrines of grace, and of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it was superfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehension of the vulgar. A famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, " An infentible als, and one that had no feeling of "God's spirit in the matter of justification ." The meanest protestant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines; and he heartily despised the most learned and knowing person of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to foretel its fuccess, in opposition to all the ceremonies, flows, and fuperstitions of popery. exalting Christ and his sufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourselves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of felf-abalement which generally have place in religion.

TONSTAL bishop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council; but no farther severity was, for the present, exercised against him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

THE fame religious zeal which engaged Somerfet Foreign to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interests of the protestants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. The Roman pontist, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at last fummoned a general council, which was affembled

4 Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. Bibliotheca Britannica, Article Unaphilistor, xo?

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1547.

C H A P. at Trent, and was employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church, and in ascertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who defired to repress the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the protestants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatness fo deeply interested, desired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave instructions to his legates, who prefided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in argument, and altercation, and dispute concerning the nice points of faith canvassed before them: A policy so easy to be executed, that the legates foon found it rather necessary to interpose, in order to appeale the animosity of the divines, and bring them at last to some decision's, The more difficult talk for the legates was, to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repress the ambition of the prelates, who defired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of the fovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broke out at Trent, transferred of a sudden the council to Bologna, where they hoped it would be more under the direction of his holiness.

THE emperor, no less than the pope, had learned to make religion fubservient to his ambition and policy. He was refolved to employ the imputation of herefy as a pretence for fubduing the protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the palatine and the elector of Brandenburgh from the protestant confederacy: He took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heffe; By the fortune of war, he made the former prisoner: He employed treachery and prevarication against the

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⁵ Father Paul, lib. 2.

latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a C. H A P. fafe-conduct which he had granted him. He feemed XXXIV. to have reached the summit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were aftonished with his fuccess, were farther discouraged by the intelligence which they had received of the death, first of Henry VIII. then of Francis I. their usual rethe latter. He gave in the latter very calamity!

HENRY II. who fucceeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities; but less hasty in his resolution than Francis, and less enflamed with rivalship and animosity against the emperor Charles Though he fent ambaffadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic League, and promifed them protections he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war with fo great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of those princes was a fure resource, which he could at any time lay hold of ". He was much governed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counsel, in chusing rather to give immediate affiftance to Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of Henry VIII. had loudly claimed the protection of the French THE emperor, no lefs than the pope, haydoranom

THE hatred between the two factions, the parti- Progress of fans of the ancient and those of the new religion, formation became every day more violent in Scotland; and in Scotthe refolution which the cardinal primate had taken, land. to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision. There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and

Sleidan. Pere Daniel.



C.H.A.P. for his extensive learning: But these praises cannot be much depended on; because we know that, among the reformers, feverity of manners supplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general fo ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a compofition of Luther's, and afferted that the Old alone was the word of God w. But however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the defire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for feizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigdur, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with difmissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation that they had/dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with fome imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his profelytes. Meanwhile a plague broke out - smilled A in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town to not had drawin down the vengeance of Heaven by noted banishing the pious preacher, and that the pellilence would never cease, till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: But left he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: The infected stood within 391 then others without. And the preacher failed not, in fuch a fituation, to take nos s Hill, of Rel. p. 44 Spottwood.

w See note [P] at the end of the volume.

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advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, CH A P. and to enforce his evangelical mission cob doum ad XXXIV.

of THE affiduity and fuccess of Wishart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he refolved in by the punishment of for celebrated a preacher, to firike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwel to arrest him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promife given by Bothwel to that unhappy man : And being possessed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for herefy. bei Arrang the agovernor, was irrefolute in his temper; and the care dinal, though he had gained him over to his party, found that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart or Header termined, therefore, without the affiliance of the fecular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he kimfelf beheld from his window the difmal spectacle. Wishart suffered with the usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. In Herforetold, that, ima few days, he should in the very same place lie as low as now he was exalted aloft in opposition to true piety and of his profelytes. Meanwhile a plague by noigilar

HIS prophecy was probably the immediate calife Affaffina. of the event which it foretold. The disciples of tion of cardinal this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed Beaton. a conspiracy against the cardinal; and having associ ciated to them Norman Lefty, who was difgufted: on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprise with great feoreby and fuccessi Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had trongly fortified; and though they were not above fixteen perfons, they thrust out a hundred tradefmen and fifty fervants, whom

preacher failed not, in such a fituation, to take x Knox's Hift. of Ref. p. 44. Spotswood.

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1547.

CHAP. they feized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle; and had barricadoed the door of his chamber: But finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promise of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a prieft, he conjured them to spare him. Two of the assassins rushed upon him with drawn fwords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more confiderate in villany, stopped their career, and bade them reflect that this work was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his fword towards Beaton, he called to him, "Repent "thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy fins and " iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, " that instrument of God for the conversion of "these lands: It is his death which now cries " vengeance upon thee: We are fent by God to " inflict the deserved punishment. For here, be-" fore the Almighty, I protest, that it is neither " hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor " fear of thy power, which moves me to feek thy " death: But only because thou hast been, and " ftill remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ " Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton time to finish that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet z. This murder was executed on

⁻ The famous Scotch reformer, John Knox, calls James Melvil, p. 65. a man most gentle and most modest. It is very horrid, but at the fame time fomewhat amufing, to confider the joy and alacrity and pleasure, which that historian discovers in his narrative of this affaffination: And it is remarkable, that in the first edition of his work, these words were printed on the margin of the page, The godly Fast

the 28th of May 1546. The affaffins, being CHAP. reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving affiftance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of disturbing the government of a rival kingdom; and he promised to take them under his protection.

IT was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five fhort reigns had been fuccesfively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of justice which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animolities of the great. But besides these inveterate and ancient evils, a new source of disorder had arisen, the disputes and contentions of theology, which were fufficient to diffurb the most fettled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was possessed of abilities and vigour, seemed much to weaken the hands of the administration. But the queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue; and she did as much to fupport the government, and fupply the weakness of Arran the governor, as could be expected in her fituation.

THE protector of England, as foon as the state Conduct was brought to fome composure, made preparations of the war with for war with Scotland; and he was determined to Scotland. execute, if possible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been fo intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of

Fall and Words of James Melvil. But the following editors retrenched them. Knox himself had no hand in the murder of Beaton; but he afterwards joined the affaffins, and affifted them in holding out the castle. See Keith's Hist. of the Ref. of Scotland, p. 43.

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XXXIV.

C.H.A.P. fixty fail, one half of which were ships of war, the other laden with provisions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to Lord Clinton: He himself marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwic. These hostile measures were covered with a pretence of revenging fome depredations committed by the borderers; but besides that Somerset revived the ancient claim of the superiority of the English crown over that of Scotland, he refused to enter into negotiation on any other condition than the marriage of the young

queen with Edward.

THE protector, before he opened the campaign, published a manifesto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that measure. He faid, that nature feemed originally to have intended this island for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign states, and guarded it by the ocean, she had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happiness and to security: That the education and customs of the people concurred with nature; and by giving them the same language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: That fortune had at last removed all obstacles, and had prepared an expedient by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealoufy, either of honour or of interests, to which rival nations are naturally exposed: That the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female; that of England on a male; and happily the two fovereigns, as of a rank, were also of an age the most fuitable to each other: That the hostile dispositions which prevailed between the nations, and which arose from past injuries, would foon be extinguished, after a long and fecure peace had established confidence between them: That the memory of former miferies, which at present inflamed their mutual animosity, would then lerve only to make them cherish, with more passion,

passion, a state of happiness and tranquillity so long G H A P. unknown to their ancestors: That when hostilities had cealed between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would foften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience: That as this fituation was defirable to both kingdoms, fo particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and faw herfelf every moment in danger of losing her independency, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people: That though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to refign every pretension for the take of future peace, and defired an union, which would be the more fecure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: And that besides all these motives. positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and fafety fo loudly demanded 4.

Somerser foon perceived that these remonfirances would have no influence; and that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negotiations for the intended marriage. He found honfelf, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to constrain the Scots by necessity to submit to a measure, for which they feemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the 2d Sept. borders at Berwic, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any refistance for fome days, except from some small castles which he obliged to furrender at discretion. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrion of one of these castles for their temerity in resisting

Sir John Haywood in Kennet, p. 279. Heylin, p. 42.

1547-

CHAP. fuch unequal force: But they eluded his anger by asking only a few hours' respite, till they should prepare themselves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy .

THE governor of Scotland had fummoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the English, had taken post on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eske, about four miles from Edinburgh. The English came within fight of them at Faside; and after a skirmish between the horse, where the Scots were worsted, and lord Hume dangerously wounded, Somerfet prepared himself for a more decifive action. But having taken a view of the Scottish camp with the earl of Warwic, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of fuccels. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she reached the age of chusing a husband for herself. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of its moderation; and it made them imagine that the protector must either be reduced to great distress, or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate fo much of his former pretentions. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no fuccefs could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit when they law the protector change his ground, and move towards the fea; nor did they any longer doubt that he intended

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to embark his army, and make his escape on board C H A P. the ships, which at that very time moved into the bay opposite to him d. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp; and paffing the river Eske, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the 10th Sept. vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntley the rear: Their cavalry confifted only of light horse, which were placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this fervice.

1547.

Somerset was much pleased when he saw this movement of the Scottish army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of fuccefs. He ranged his van on the left, farthest from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which he placed them, till the enemy should approach: He placed The battle his main battle and his rear towards the right; and of Pinkey. beyond the van he posted lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take the Scottish van in flank, but not till they should be engaged in close fight with the van of the English.

WHILE the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships: The eldest fon of lord Graham was killed: The Irish archers were thrown into disorder; and even the other troops began to stagger: When lord Grey, perceiving their fituation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horse, made an attack on the Scottish infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a flough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the enemy armed with spears, and the field on which they stood was fallow ground, broken with ridges which lay cross their front, and disordered the movements of the English From all these accidents, the shock of cavalry.

1547.

C H A P. this body of horse was feeble and irregular; and as XXXIV. they were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfitted. Grey himself was dangerously wounded: Lord Edward Seymour, fon of the protector, had his horse killed under him: The standard was near being taken: And had the Scots possessed any good body of cavalry, who could have purfued the advantage, the whole English army had been exposed to great danger.

> THE protector, mean-while, affifted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himfelf with diligence and fuccess in rallying the cavalry. Warwic showed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled: He made fir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot harquebusiers, and fir Peter Gamboa, captain of fome Italian and Spanish harquebusiers on horseback; and ordered them to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. They marched to the flough, and discharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: The ships galled them from the flank: The artillery, planted on a height, infested them from the front: The English archers poured in a shower of arrows upon them: And the vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced leisurely, and in good order, towards them. Difmayed with all these circumstances, the Scottish van began to retreat: The retreat foon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight, and consternation. The English army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit with loud shouts and acclamations, which added still more to the dismay of the vanquished.

> > e Patten. Hollingshed, p. 986.

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The horse in particular, eager to revenge the affront C H A P. which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strowed with dead bodies. The priests above all, and the monks, received no quarter; and the English made foot of flaughtering men, who, from their extreme seal and animofity, had engaged in an enterprife fo ill bentting their profession. Few victories have been more decifive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English; and, according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken prifoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's feat of that name in the tam of the foot harquebuhers, and ht. boodrhooddgion

THE queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were scarcely able to collect fuch a body of forces as could check the incursions of small parties of the English. About the fame time the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the west marches, at the head of five thousand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they spread devaltation over all the neighbouring counties Had Somerfet profecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleafed on the Scottish nation. But he was impatient to return to England, where he heard some counsellors, and even his own brother the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Having taken the caftles of Hume, Dunglass, Eymouth, Faltcastle, Roxborough, and some other small places; and having received the hibmission of some counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, besides destroying all the hipping along the coast, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there

85 Hollingshed, p. 992-111 SMOL. IV. X

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CHAP.

left a garrison. Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwic for the place of conference, left Warwic with full powers to negotiate: But no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artisce to gain time till succours should arrive from France.

4th Nov.

THE protector, on his arrival in England, fummoned a parliament; And being fomewhat elated with his fuccess against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to fit on the throne, upon a stool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the fame honours and privileges that had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent the king employed his dispensing power, by fetting afide the statute of precedency enacted during the former reign . But if Somerfet gave offence by affuming too much state, he deserves great praise on account of the laws passed this festion, by which the rigour of former statutes was much mitigated, and fome fecurity given to the freedom of the constitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. "; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or herefy, together with the statute of the fix articles. None were to be accused for words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals several of the most rigorous laws that ever had passed in England were annulled; and fome dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Herefy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no precise standard by which that crime could be defined or

A parliament.

319 # Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164. b 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

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determined: A circumstance which might either be CHAP advantageous or hurtful to public fecurity, according

to the disposition of the judges.

A REPEAL also passed of that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute. That other law likewise was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every statute passed before the four and twentieth year of his age: He could prevent their future execution; but could not recal any past effects which had ensued from them k.

IT was also enacted, That all who denied the king's fupremacy, or afferted the pope's, should for the first offence forfeit their goods and chattels, and fuffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the fecond offence should incur the penalty of a pramunire; and for the third be attainted of treason. But if any, after the first of March ensuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason. If any of the heirs of the crown should usurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of fuccesfion, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abettors. These were the most considerable acts passed during this session. The members in general discovered a very passive disposition with regard to religion: Some few appeared zealous for the reformation: Others fecretly harboured a strong propensity to the catholic faith: But the greater part appeared willing to take any impression which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reigning fashion !

THE convocation met at the same time with the parliament; and as it was found that their debates

i 1 Edw. VI c. 2. k Ibid. 1 Heylin, p. 48.

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1547-

CHAP. were at first cramped by the rigorous statute of the fix articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law, before it was repealed by parliament m. The lower house of convocation applied to have liberty of fitting with the commons in parliament; or if this privilege were refused them, which they claimed as their ancient right, they defired that no law regarding religion might pass in parliament without their consent and approbation. But the principles which now prevailed were more favourable to the civil than to the ecclefiastical power; and this demand of the convocation was rejected.

1548.

Farther progress of

the reform-

THE protector had affented to the repeal of that law which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of statutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or discretionary exercise of power, in iffuing proclamations, which had ever been assumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to diffinguish exactly from a full legislative power. He even continued to exert this authority in fome particulars, which were then regarded as the most momentous. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-wednesday, palms on Palni-These were ancient religious practices, funday ". now termed superstitions; though it is fortunate for mankind when superstition happens to take a direction fo innocent and inoffensive. The severe dispofition which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewife the council to abolish some gay and showy ceremonies which belonged to the ancient religion °.

An order was also issued by council for the removal of all images from the churches: An innovation which was much defired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total change of the established

m Antiq. Britan. p. 339. vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55.

Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59. Collier,

[·] Burnet, vol. ii.

1548

religion P. An attempt had been made to separate CHAP. the use of images from their abuse, the reverence from the worship of them; but the execution of this defign was found, upon trial, very difficult, if

not wholly impracticable.

As private maffes were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion-fervice; and the council went fo far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent 9. This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them. And it may justly be faid, that though the priest's absolution, which attends confession, serves fomewhat to ease weak minds from the immediate agonies of fuperstitious terror, it operates only by enforcing fuperstition itself, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapse into the same of particulars, which were then taget in diforders.

THE people were at that time extremely diffracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally unable to judge of the reasons advanced on either fide, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church as of equal authority, a great confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council had first endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying fome restraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total filence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit . By the nature of things, this restraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worship, its shews and exterior observances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to con-

P Burnet, vol. ii. p. 60. Collier, vol. ii. 241. Heylin, p. 55.

Fuller, Heylin, Burnet. Burnet, vol. ii.

1548.

C HAP. tract a stronger attachment to fermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amusement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries fomething to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: Sermons were delivered only in the principal churches, and at some particular fasts and festivals: And the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abused, is so powerful an incitement to faction and fedition, had much less scope and influence during Fee holfile attempts which the late kingsags slodt

Affairs of Scotland.

THE greater progress was made towards a reformtion in England, the farther did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation which had fo far departed from all ancient principles. Somerfet, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrifoned and fortified by lord Grey: He also erected fome fortifications at Lauder: And he hoped that these two places, together with Broughty and some fmaller fortreffes which were in the hands of the English, would ferve as a curb on Scotland, and would give him access into the heart of the country.

ARRAN, being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the fuccours expected from France for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Frith, to the number of fix thouland men; half of them Germans. They were commanded by Desfe, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave! The Scots were at that time fo funk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without refistance, and make inroads to the gates of the capital to But on the appearance of the French fuccours, they collected more courage; and having joined Desse with a consider-

Beague, Hift. of the Campagnes 1548 and 1549, p. 6.

able reinforcement, they laid fiege to Haddington . CHAP. This was an undertaking for which they were by XXXIV. themselves totally unfit; and, even with the affift. ance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of fuccess in starving the garrison. After some vain attempts to take the place by a regular fiege, the blockade was formed, and the garrison was repulsed with lofs in feveral fallies which they made upon the befiegers. It was a root alot down bad anomiber

THE hostile attempts which the late king and the protector had made against Scotland not being steady. regular, nor pushed to the last extremity, had served only to irritate the nation, and to inspire them with the strongest aversion to that union, which was courted in fo violent a manner. Even those who were inclined to the English alliance, were displeased to have it imposed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley in particular faid pleafantly, that he difliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing ". The queen-dowager, finding these fentiments to prevail, called a parliament in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there proposed, that the young queen, for her greater feenity, should be sent to France, and be committed to the custody of that ancient ally. Some objected that this measure was desperate, allowed no resource in case of miscarriage, exposed the Scots to be subjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient by which they could conciliate the friendship of that powerful nation. It was answered, on the other hand, that the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would defift when they found; that their views of forcing a marriage had become

Affairs of Scotland.

office

altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by fo high a mark of confidence, would take their fovereign under his protection, and use

Hollingshed, p. 993. " Heylin, p. 46. Patten.

XXXIV.

3548.

Young queen of Scots fent France.

CHAP. his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres a year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his fon the command of a hundred men at arms ". And as the clergy dreaded the confequence of the English alliance, they feconded this measure with all the zeal and industry which either principle or interest could inspire. It was accordingly determined to fend the queen to France: and what was understood to be the necesfary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the Frith of Forth, fet fail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open fea he turned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came in on the west coast at Dunbarton: An extraordinary voyage for thips of that fabric . The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended by the lords Areskine and Livingstone, the put to fea, and after meeting with fome tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence fhe was conducted to Paris, and soon after the was betrothed to the dauphin.

Somerser, pressed by many difficulties at home. and despairing of success in his enterprise against Scotland, was defirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years' truce; but as they infifted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal came to nothing. The Scots recovered the fortreffes of Hume and Fasteastle by surprise, and put the garrisons to the fword: They repulsed with loss the English, who, under the command of lord Seymour, made a descent, first in Fife, then at Montrole; In the former action James Stuart, natural brother

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Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 55. * Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

to the queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Aref. C H A P. kine of Dun. An attempt was made by fir Robert Bowes and fir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a confiderable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but these troops falling into an ambuscade, were almost wholly cut in pieces y. And though a finall body of two hundred men escaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived fafely in Haddington, with some ammunition and provisions, the garrison was reduced to fuch difficulties, that the protector found it necessary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raifed an army of eighteen thousand men, and adding three thousand Germans, who on the diffolution of the protestant alliance had offered their fervice to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewsbury 2. Dessé raised the blockade on the approach of the English; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he posted himself advantageously. Shrewfoury, who had loft the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durst not give him battle in his prefent fituation; and contenting himfelf with the advantage already gained, of fupplying Haddington, he retired into England.

THOUGH the protection of France was of great confequence to the Scots, in supporting them against the invalions of England, they reaped still more benefit from the diffractions and divisions which had creeped into the councils of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and Cabals of admiral, not content with the high stations which lord Seythey feverally enjoyed, and the great eminence to mour. which they had arisen, had entertained the most violent jealousy of each other; and they divided the whole court and kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions. Lord Seymour was a man of infatiable aman bition; arrogant, affuming, implacable; and though-

1548.

u for security Y Stowe, p. 595. Hollingshed, p. 994. 2 Hayward, p. 291. efteemed

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C H A P. esteemed of superior capacity to the protector, he possessed not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address he had so infinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, the married him immediately upon the demife of the late king: Infomuch that, had she soon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the dutchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger brother's wife should have the precedency, employed all her credit with her husband, which was too great, first to create, then to widen the breach between the two brothers a.

Desug

THE first symptoms of this misunderstanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerfet, remarked, that Seymour was forming feparate intrigues among the counsellors; was corrupting, by prefents, the king's fervants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgencies and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget represented to him the danger of this conduct; defired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the fudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him, that any diffenfion between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of to effect the ruin of both. Finding his remonstrances neglected, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerfet, and engaged him to leave the enterprise upon Scotland unfinished. in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the enfuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared still more dangerous to public tranquillity; and as he had acquired many partifans, he

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Hayward, p. 301. Heylin, p. 72. Camden. Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 5. Haynes, p. 69. Haynes, p. 82,00.

made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. CHAP He represented to his friends, that formerly, during XXXIV a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom hath been kept separate from that of governor of the king's person; and that the present union of these two important trusts conferred on Somerset an authority which could not fafely be lodged in any fubject . The young king was even prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, defiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two houses, by which he hoped to effect his purpose. The defign was discovered before its execution; and some common friends were fent to remonstrate with him; but had fo little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions, and rashly threatened, that if he were thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackeft that ever fat in England ? The council fent for him to answer for his conduct; but he refused to attend: They then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him that the king's letter, instead of availing him any thing to the execution of his views, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprife, and be construed as a defign to disturb the government, by forming a separate interest with a child and minor. They even let fall fome menaces of fending him to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral, finding himself prevented in his defign, was obliged to fubmit, and to defire a reconciliation with his brother.

THE mild and moderate temper of Somerfet made him willing to forget these enterprises of the admiral: but the ambition of that turbulent spirit could not be so easily appealed. His spouse, the queendowager, died in child-bed; but fo far from regarding this event as a check to his afpiring views, he founded on it the scheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addresses to the lady Eliza-

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CHAP. beth, then in the fixteenth year of her age; and that princels, whom even the hurry of bufinefs, and the pursuits of ambition could not, in her more advanced years, difengage entirely from the tender passions, feems to have liftened to the infinuations of a man who poffeffed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from all hopes of fuccession, if they married without the confent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this fuspicion. He continued to attack, by prefents, the fidelity of those who had more immediate access to the king's person: He endeavoured to seduce the young prince into his interests: He found means of holding a private correspondence with him: He openly decried his brother's administration; and afferted, that by enlifting Germans and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people: By promifes and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his interest all over England: He neglected not even the most popular perfons of inferior rank; and had computed that he could, on occasion, muster an army of 10,000 men, composed of his fervants, tenants, and retainers : He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests fir John Sharington, a corrupt man, mafter of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerfet was well apprifed of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured, by the most friendly expedients, by intreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him delift from his dangerous counsels; but finding all

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e Haynes, p. 95, 96. 102. 108.

f Ibid. p. 105, 106.

all endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of CHAP. more fevere remedies. The earl of Warwic was an ill instrument between the brothers; and had formed the defign, by inflaming the quarrel, to raife his own fortune on the ruins of both.

XXXIV. 1548.

against

DUDLEY earl of Warwic was the fon of that Dud- Dudley ley minister to Henry VII, who having by rapine, earl of extortion, and perversion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been facrificed to popular animosity in the beginning of the subsequent reign. The late king, fensible of the iniquity, at least illegality of the fentence, had afterwards restored young Dudley's blood by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with abilities, industry, and activity, he had entrusted him with many important commands, and had ever found him fuccessful in his undertakings. He raised him to the dignity of viscount Lifle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made still farther progress during the minority; and having obtained the title of earl of Warwic, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's The victory gained at Pinkey was counfellors. much ascribed to his courage and conduct; and he was univerfally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all these virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an infatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice: And as he found that lord Seymour, whose abilities and enterprifing spirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himfelf in ruin by his rash counsels, he was determined to push him on the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness.

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WHEN Somerfet found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's leditious, not to lay rebellious schemes, he was the more easily perfuaded by Warwic to employ the extent of royal authority

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CHAP. against him; and, after depriving him of the office of admiral, he figned a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy-counsellors being fent to examine them, made a report that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to defift from the profecution, if Seymour would promife him a cordial reconciliation; and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, confisting of thirty-three articles "; and the whole to be laid before the privy council. It is pretended, that every particular was fo incontestably proved, both by witneffes and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower in order more fully to examine the prisoner. He was not daunted by the appearance: He boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witnesses; defired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories by which he might accuse himself.

IT is apparent that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when fuch demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and fcarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, fusceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that though on the whole Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treason-

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⁸ Burnet, vol. ii. Col. 31. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

able projects imputed to him. The chief part of CHAP. his actual guilt feems to have confifted in some XXXIV. unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impositions laid

upon the merchants. The made-some as of mel and

Bur the administration had at that time an easy instrument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament; and needed not to give themselves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the persons whom they profecuted, or the evidence which could be produced against them. A session of parliament being held, A parliait was refolved to proceed against Seymour by bill of ment. attainder; and the young king being induced, after much folicitation, to give his confent to it, a confiderable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the upper house; and feveral peers, rifing up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. These narratives were received as undoubted evidence; Attainder of lord and though the prisoner had formerly engaged many Seymour. friends and partifans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move that he might be heard in his defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the house of commons: There were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder passed in absence; and insisted that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a meffage was fent by the king, March soenjoining the house to proceed, and offering that the fame narratives should be laid before them which had fatisfied the peers, they were eafily prevailed on to acquiesce . The bill passed in a full house. Near four hundred voted for it; not above nine or ten against it . The sentence was soon after execution

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h 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18. 1 Burnet, vol. ii. p. 99.

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1549. His exccution.

C H A R cuted, and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower. hill. The warrant was figned by Somerfer, who was exposed to much blame on account of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiral feem chiefly to have been levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and though his ambitions enterprising character, encouraged by a marriage with the lady Elizabeth, might have endangered the public tranquillity, the prudence of fore. feeing evils at fach a distance was deemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be faid that this bill of attainder was fomewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones; to which the nation had been enured; for here, at least, some thadow of evidence was produced it ris .: of betoveb

Ecclefiaftical affairs.

ALL the confiderable business transacted this felfron, besides the attainder of lord Seymour regarded ecclefiaftical affairs; which were now the chief object of attention throughout the national A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to compose a liturgy; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking: They retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit : They indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which fo naturally takes place in all great innovations: And they flattered themselves that they had established a service in which every denomination of Christians might without scruple concurred The mass had always been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed abfurde had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of fome mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But as the reformers pretended in some few particulars to encourage private judgment in the laity, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of Vi .JoV the

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the Scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, feemed CHAP. more conformable to the genius of their fect; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to faints, and of fome superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mais and the new liturgy. The parliament established this form of worthip in all the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be observed in all the rites and cere-

1549.

monies k. THERE was another material act which passed this fession. The former canons had established the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice is usually ascribed to the policy of the court of Rome. who thought that the ecclefiaftics would be more devoted to their fpiritual head, and lefs dependent on the civil magistrate, when freed from the powers ful tie of wives and children; yet was this inftitution much forwarded by the principles of fuperstition inherent in human nature. These principles had rendered the panegyrics on an inviolate chaftity fo frequent among the ancient fathers, long before the establishment of celibacy. And even this parliament, though they enacted a law permitting the marriage of priests, yet confess in the preamble, "That it were better for priests and the ministers " of the church to live chafte and without marriage, " and it were much to be wished they would of " themselves abstain." The inconveniencies which had arisen from the compelling of chastity and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reasons affigned for indulging a liberty in this particular. The ideas of penance also were so much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament passed, forbidding the use of fieth-meat during Lent and other times of abilinence . betau pos hade on

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^{1 2 &}amp; 3 Edw. VI. c. 1. 1 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 21. m 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 19. See note [Q] at the end of the volume. the sturgy,

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THE principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, fuch as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion fervice and by the abolition of many ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people ". The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might in part be the ground of this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration which of course it impressed on the imagination. The priests likewife were much inclined to favour an opinion which attributed to them fo miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce fo extraordinary, and as they imagined, fo falutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was fo violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name, still to retain it: And the catholic preachers in England, when restrained in all other particulars, could not forbear on every occasion inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his fee, and had been committed to cultody, Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority which established the late innovations; and he feemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the English catholics, that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, but not the council during a minority. Having declined to give full fatisfaction on this head, he was fent to the Tower, and

* Burnet, postiqes di lov etanuana xv. p. 181

threatened

XXXIV. 1549

THESE feverities, being exercifed on men poffeffed of office and authority, feemed in that age a necesfary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worthip and discipline: But there were other instances of perfecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady which feems almost incurable. Though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new fystem as fo certain that they would fuffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the fame flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the affurance to differ from them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and fome others, to examine and fearch after all anabaptists, hereties, or contemners of the book of common prayer . The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them if possible; to impose penance on them; and to give them absolution. Or if these criminals were oblimate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the fecular arm of And in the execution of this charge, they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were over-ruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradefmen in London were brought before thefe committioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not fin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were difmissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or

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Burnet, vol. ii. p. 3. Rymer, tomi xv. p. 181.

XXXIV. 1549.

CHAP. Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Christ was not truly in-"carnate of the Virgin, whose flesh, being the out-" ward man, was finfully begotten, and born in fin; " and confequently, he could take none of it: But " the Word, by the confent of the inward man of " the Virgin, was made flesh p." This opinion, it would feem, is not orthodox; and there was a necessity for delivering the woman to the slames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in fuch tender years, had more fense than all his counfellors and preceptors; and he long refused to fign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to perfuade him to compliance; and he faid that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apostles creed: These latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress; in like manner as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person. Edward, overcome by importunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and Ending her obstinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the slames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the herefy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with fo much fatisfaction that he hugged and carefled the faggots that were confuming him; a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one infrance among the martyrs of that age 9.

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P Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 35. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

⁴ Burnet, val. ii. p. 112. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

1349.

THESE rigorous methods of proceeding foon cat a P. brought the whole nation to a conformity, feeming XXXIV. or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worthip. When prefied and menaced on this head, fhe applied to the emperor; who using his interest with fir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council for the c tuch tender years, had gorte fallyon and his counfellors and preceptors; and he long relufed to fign. the warrant for her execution. Crammer was elaployed to perfuade him to compliaine; and he faid that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apolites creed: These latter were implettes against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress in like manner as inferior magilitates were bound to punith. offences against the king's person. Edward, overcome by importunity, at last ubr. itted, though with tears in his eye.; and he to d Granmer, that if any wrong were done, the guilt thould he entirely on his head. The primare, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and anding her obitinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the slames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called van Paris, accided of the herefy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punchment. He suffered with io much fartsfaction that he hugged and careffed the faggets tent were confuming him, a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one inflance among the marty of that age ?.

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² Bruct, vol. it. coll 25 Strype's Mem. Cranic. p. 181 Burnet, vol. ii. p. 12. Strype's Mem. Craum. p. 181.

yet did it provide to many a relief front the extreme preflures of want and necessity. It is also observable, that as the finars were limited by the rules of their institution to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other

men; and the VXXX clarq was deed on have been in England, as they full are in Roman catholic coun-

Discontents of the people—Insurrections—Conduct of the war with Scotland—with France—Factions—in the council—Conspiracy against Somerset—Somerset resigns the protectorship—A parliament—Peace with France and Scotland—Boulogne surrendered—Persecution of Gardiner—Warwie created duke of Northumberland—His ambition—Trial of Somerset—His execution—A parliament—A new parliament—Succession—Changed—The king's sickness—and death. It collected a parliament—A new parliament—Succession—A parliament—A new parliament—Succession—A parliament—A new parliament—A

C H A P.

Difcontents of the people.

THERE is no abuse so great in civil society, as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial confequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very fenfibly, while the benefit refulting from the change is the flow effect of time, and is feldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable in the main to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks always reliding in their convents in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a fure resource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness, and prevented the increase of public riches, yet

yet did it provide to many a relief from the ex- CHAP. treme preffures of want and necessity. It is also observable, that as the friars were limited by the 1549. rules of their institution to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they still are in Roman catholic countries, the best and most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leafes at an under-value, and to receive in return a large present from the tenant; in the same manner as is still practifed by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were distributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: The rents of farms were raifed, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce; the money was often fpent in the capital; and the farmers living at a distance, were exposed to oppression from their new

THESE grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a profession which of all mechanical employments requires the most reflection and experience. A great demand arole for wool both abroad and at home: Pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage: Whole estates were laid waste by inclosures: The tenants, regarded as a useless burden, were expelled their habitations: Even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle. were reduced to mifery: And a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom'. This grievance

masters, or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards.

and charity ga violations in the encouragement to idlenels, and prevented the increase of public riches, won

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1549. Disconcentsofthe .plga

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CHAP, new of an old date; and fir Thomas More, alluding torit, observes in his Utopia, that a sheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, cerning incofures; and iffit d a pro leaning incomes

> THE general increase also of gold and filver in Europe, after the discovery of the West-Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could eafily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, ftill remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this increase of industry was at last the effect of the prefent fituation, and an effect beneficial to fociety, yet was it difficult for the people to shake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but necessity could compel them to such an exertion rebels in Wilthire were diperted saitlus af vialt to

> It must also be remarked, that the profusion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithstanding his zapacity, to fuch difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a present necessity, by the pernicious expedient of debasing the coin; and the wars in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry still farther the same abuse. The usual confequences enfued: The good specie was hoarded er exported; base metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchase commodities at the usual rates; a univerfal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England. Burnet, vol h. p 113. Burge, vol. 41

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The protector, who loved popularity, and pitied C H A Pe the condition of the people, encouraged these coins plaints by his endeavours to redress them. He appointed a commission for making inquiry concerning inclosures; and iffued a proclamation, or dering all late inclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with fuch countenance from government, began to rife in feveral places, and to commit diforders, but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater fatisfaction, Somerfet appointed new commissioners, whom he fent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all caufes about inclosures, highways, and cottages ; As this commission was disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they stigmatised it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redrefs, could no longer contain their fury, but fought for a remedy by force of arms. The rifing began at once Infurrecin feveral parts of England, as if an universal con-tions, fpiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by sir William Herbert: Those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Glocester, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: Others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Suffex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the diforders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous confequences enfued. The good fpeciesesneupsidos

THE commonalty in Devonshire begun with the usual complaints against inclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject in the present emergency made

Burnet, vol. ii. p. 115. Strype, vol. ii. p. 171.

XXXV. 3349.

CHAP the infurrection immediately appear formidable. In other counties the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Ruffel had been fent against them at the head of a fmall force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negotiate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands refumed, the law of the fix articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redreffed . council, to whom Russel transmitted these demands, fent a haughty answer; commanded the rebels to disperse, and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment they marched to Exeter; carrying before them croffes, banners, holy-water, candlefticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the hoste, which they covered with a canopy w. The citizens of Exeter that their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulsed in every attempt. Russel meanwhile lay at Honiton till reinforced by fir William Herbert and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and purfuit *,

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Hayward, p. 292. Hollingshed, p. 1003. Fox, vol. ii. p. 666. w Heylin, p. 76. Mem. Cranm. p. 186. Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 295.

and took many prisoners. Arundel and the other CHAP. leaders were fent to London, tried and executedo Many of the inferior fort were put to death by martial law . The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his amounted to the number of

beads at his girdle .

and

THE infurrection in Norfolk rofe to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by complaints against inclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand, they grew infolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretentions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counfellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient One Ket, a tanner, had affumed the government over them, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Having taken possession of Moushold-hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and furnmoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave fuch decrees as might be expected from his character and fituation. The marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him; but met with a repulse in an action where lord Sheffield was killed. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels: He therefore sent the earl of Warwic at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of increasing his reputation and character. Warwic having tried fome fkirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon thein, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell

execution upon them both in the action and purluit

XXXV. 1549.

Strype, vol. ii. p. 174. Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 193.

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CHAP. in the action and pursuit: Ket was hanged at Nor. wich caftle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the infurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebets in Yorkshire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. general indemnity was foon after published by the protector b.

Conduct of the war with Scotland;

Bur though the infurrections were thus quickly fubdued in England, and no traces of them feemed to remain, they were attended with bad confequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwic, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprife; and the French general had leifure to reduce that country to some settlement and compofure. He took the fortress of Broughty, and put the garrifon to the fword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was found at last very chargeable, and even impracticable, to keep possession of that fortress. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots and English, and could afford no supply to the garrison: The place lay above thirty miles from the borders, fo that a regular army was necessary to ecort any provisions thither: And as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness, For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Hiddington, and to convey the artillery and garfifon to Berwic; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, executed the orders. THE king of France also took advantage of the

with France.

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h Hayward, p. 297, 298, 299.

distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, and that territory,

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which Henry VIII. had conquered from France, CHAP. On other pretences he affembled an army; and falling fuddenly upon the Boulonnois, took the castles of Sellaque, Blackness, and Ambleteuse, though well supplied with garrisons, ammunition, and provisions. He endeavoured to surprise Boulenberg. and was repulfed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses. destroyed the works and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of fuccess against Boulogne itself; and he retired to Paris'. He left the command of the army to Gafpar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, fo famous afterwards by the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the fiege early in the fpring. The active disposition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, feveral attempts against the place; but they all proved unluccessful.

STROZZI, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a descent on Jersey; but meeting there with an English fleet, he commenced an action which seems not to have been decisive, since the historians of the two nations differ in their account of the event.

As foon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor; and he sent over secretary Paget to Brussels, where Charles then kept court, in order to assist fir Philip Hobby, the resident ambassador, in this negotiation. But that prince had formed a design of extending his dominions by act, ing the part of champion for the catholic religion;

and

Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 6. d Hayward, p. 300.



C. H. A.P. and though extremely defirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unfuitable to his other pretentions to enter into frict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambaffadors. An exact account is preferved of this negotiation in a letter of Hobby's; and it is remarkable that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, afferted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extensive than those of a king of France f. Burnet, who preserves this letter, fubjoins, as a parallel inftance, that one objection which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England Detects belong the winds of belong

Somenser, despairing of affifiance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain fuch ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had fent away their queen; and could not, if ever for much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with Edward: And as Henry VIII. had Appulated to restore Boulogne in 1734, it feemed a matter of small moment to anticipate a few years the execution of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with flrong opposition from his enemies, who seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an iffue fatal to the authority of the protector.

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f Burnet, vol. if. p. 132. 175.

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Factions

AFTER Somerfet obtained the patent, investing CHAB him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and counfellors; and being elated with his high dignity, in the as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought council. that every one ought in every thing to yield to his fentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him were fure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will received marks of anger or contempt : and while he shewed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not in any respect proportioned to his ambition. Warwic, more subtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having affociated himself with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery imthe kines of Englan tofostorq and yd mad no baloq

THE malconcent counsellors found the disposition of the nation favourable to their designs. The no bility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference which Somerfet feemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed to his procraft tination and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the fame disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people, and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative at that time could with certainty deferve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, feemed the more impolitic, because it difgusted the nobles, the furest support of monarchical authority. faral to the authority of the protector.

A Strype, vol. ii. p. 181. 11 1 1 1bid. p. 183.

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XXXV.

Bur though Somerfet courted the people, the interest which he had formed with them was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: The introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was represented in invidious colours: The great estate which he had suddenly acquired at the expence of the church and of the crown rendered him obnoxious; and the palace which he was building in the Strand ferved, by its magnificence, and still more by other circumstances which attended it, to expose him to the censure of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops houses, was pulled down, in order to furnish ground and materials for this structure: Not content with that facrilege, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to employ the stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners role in a tumult and chased away the protector's tradelmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church-yard, with a cloifter and charnel-house belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerufalem, were made use of to raise his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones being carried away were buried in unconfecrated ground .

6th Oct.

Confpiracy against Somerset.

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At these imprudences were remarked by Somerfet's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwic, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house; and assuming to 1

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k Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London. Hayward, p. 303.

1549.

themselves the whole power of the council, began to C H A P. act independently of the protector, whom they reprefented as the author of every public grievance and They wrote letters to the chief nobimisfortune. fity and gentry in England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their affistance: They fent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerfet. They laid the fame injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewfoury, fir Thomas Cheney, fir John Gage, fir Ralph Sadler, and chief juffice Montague, joined the malcontent counfellors; and every thing bore a bad aspect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had fent to treat with the council, rather chose to remain with them: The common-council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new measures, and their resolution of fupporting them !

As foon as the protector heard of the defection of the counfellors, he removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then refided, to the caftle of Windfor; and, arming his friends and fervants, feemed refolute to defend himfelf against all his enemies. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rife at his fummons, that the city and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deferted him, he loft all hopes of fuccels, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. No fooner was this despondency known, than ford Russel, fir John Baker speaker of the house of commons, and three counsellors more,

1 Stowe, p. 597, 598. Hollingshed, p. 1057.

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XXXV.

1549.

CHAP, who had hitherto remained neuters, joined the party of Warwic, whom every one now regarded as mafter. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the same purpose; and they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and submission, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition, that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed their counsel; that he had proceeded to that height of prefumption as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: They therefore begged that they might be admitted to his royal prefence; that he would be pleafed to restore them to his confidence, and that Somerset's fervants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with: Somerfet capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promifed him. He was, refigns the however, fent to the Tower m, with some of his friends and partifans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards to much diffinguished. Articles of indictment were exhibited against him "; of which the chief, at least the best founded, is his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs. The clause of his patent, which invelted him with absolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly because, according to the sentiments of those times, that power was in some degree involved in the very idea of regal authority. And MOIREGE A

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Somerfet

A parliament, THE catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had afcribed all the late inno-

n Burnet, vol. ii. book i. coll. 46. Haym Stowe, p. 6co. ward, p. 308. Stowe, p. 601. Hollingflied, p. 1059. vations dreaded 21

various to Somerfet's authority, they hoped that his CHAIP. fall would prepare the way for the return of the ano cient religion. But Warwie, who now bore chief fway in the council, was intirely indifferent with regard to all these points of controversy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had funk deeper into Edward's mind than to be easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous enterprise. He took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw fuch discouragements on Southampton, who stood at the head of the Romanists, and whom he considered as a dangerous rival, that that high-spirited nobleman fetired from the council, and foon after died from vexation and disappointment. The other counsellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Ruffel was created earl of Bedford: The marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chainberlain; and lord Wentworth, besides the office of chamberlain of the household, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torn from additional the fee of London. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but composed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerfet, and who derived their feat from an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal. But fuch niceties were during that age little understood, and still less regarded, in England. o massive reword tant esemit

XXXV. 1549.

A session of parliament was held; and as it was 4th Nov. the usual maxim of that affembly to acquiesce in every A parliaadministration which was established, the council

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[•] Heylin, p. 85. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 226.

C H A P.

1549. 23d Dec.

Peace with

Franceand

Scotland.

dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had more reason to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerset had been prevailed on to confess on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention . He even fubscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after fending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwic earl marshal. The profecution against him was carried no farther. fine was remitted by the king: He recovered his liberty: And Warwic, thinking that he was now fufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much leffened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own fon, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerfet 9.

During this selsion a severe law was passed against riots. It was enacted, That if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by a lawful magistrate should not disperse, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be selsony: Any attempt to kill a privy counsellor was subjected to the same penalty. The bishops had made an application, complaining that they were deprived of all their power by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offender before them, punish no vice, or exert the

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P Heylin, p. 84. Hayward, p. 309. Stowe, p, 603.

¹⁹ Hayward, p. 309. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 5.

I549.

discipline of the church: From which diminution of C.H.A.P. their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and in-The defign of some was, to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church: But others thought, that fuch an authority committed to the bishops would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romish superstition. The parliament for the present contented themselves with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. Such implicit trust did they repose in the crown; without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by these canons. The king did not live to affix the royal fanction to the new canons. Sir John Sharington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reverfal of his attainder t. This man fought favour with the more zealous reformers; and bishop Latimer affirmed, that though formerly he had been a most notorious knave, he was now to penitent that he had become a very honest man.

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WHEN Warwic and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves in-volved in the same difficulties that had embarrated Scotland. the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchanger; leemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace entertained by Somerlet had ferved them as a pretence for clamour against his administration; yet, after sending fir Thomas

1 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 2. Ibid. c 13.

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Chency to the emperor, and making again a fruitless

XXXV.

effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themselves obliged to listen to the advances which Henry made them, by the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, fir John Mason, Paget, and Petre, were sent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negotiate. The French king absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England as arrears of pensions; and said that he never would confent to render himself tributary to any prince: But he offered a fum for the immediate relitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scot. land was comprehended in the treaty: The English flipulated to restore Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth v. No fooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a close alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a propofal fosnitable both to his interests and his inclinations. An agreement some time after was formed for a marriage Between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negotiation, fully fettled w: But this project never took effect. In The intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent perfecutor of the protestants, was nowife acceptable to that party in England : But in all other respects the council was fleady in pro-

Boulogne furrendered. March 24.

w Hayward, p. 318, 311, 312. Rymer, vol xv. p. 211. W Hayward, p. 318. Heylin, p. 104. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 293.

moting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws

against the Romanists. Several prelates were still

addicted to that communion; and though they made

the king was a complete for creign in his minority;

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fome compliances, in order to fave their bishopries, CHAP. they retarded, as much as they fafely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to fuch incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A refolition was therefore taken to feek pretences for depriving those prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more easy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared, that they held their fees during the king's pleasure only. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to strike a terror into the rest. The method of proceeding against him was violent, and had scarcely any colour of law or justice. In junctions had been given him to inculcate, in affermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and because he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into prison, and had been there detained during two years, without being act cused of any crime, except disobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerfet, fecretary Petre, and some others of the council, were now fent, in order to try his temper, and endeavoured to find fome grounds for depriving him: He professed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of supporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the disposition which they expected or defired . A new deputation was therefore fent, who carried him feveral articles to subscribe. He was required to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and to confess the justice of his confinement: He was likewife to own, that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the book of commonprayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete fovereign in his minority; that the law of the fix articles was justly repealed; " Hayward, p. 318. Heylin, pl 104. vol'xv. p. care



Bouloene 59 March 24.

* Heylin, p. 99. Hos. q . vz . mot . ramy H

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XXXV. 1550.

CHAP. and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amis in eeclesiastical discipline, government, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to fet his hand to all the articles except the first: He maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive; and declared that he would not own himself guilty of faults which he had never committed y. Hor we not

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THE council, finding that he had gone fuch lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and fending him new articles to fubscribe. A lift was felected of fuch points as they thought would be the hardest of digestion; and, not content with this rigour, they also infifted on his submission, and his arknowledgment of past errors. To make this subfeription more mortifying, they demanded a promife, that he would recommend and publish all these articles from the pulpit: But Gardiner, who faw that they intended either to ruin or dishonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliance: He still maintained his innocence; defired a fair trial; and refused to subferibe more articles, till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under fequeltration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commission was appointed to try, or, more properly freaking, to condemn him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, fecretary Petre, fir James Hales, and fome other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: Sentence was pronounced against him: He was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody: His books and papers were feized;

y Collier, vol, ii, p. 305. from the council books. Heylin, p. 99. 1 1167 he

he was fecluded from all company; and it was not CHAP. allowed him either to fend or receive any letters or messages z. 1551.

GARDINER, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: But the council, unwilling to make use of a conceffion which had been fo illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some forms of justice; a resolution which led them to commit still greater iniquities and feverities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop here. Day bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Salifbury, and Sampson of Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being fupposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to feek protection, by facrificing the most considerable revenues of their fee to the rapacious courtiers 2 , and

THESE plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was iffued by council for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to fir Anthony Aucher Many of these books were plaited with gold and filver, and curioully emboffed; and this finery was probably the superflition that condemned them. Great havic was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: The volumes of divinity fuffered for their rich binding: Those of literature were condemned as useless: Those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy. The university had not power to oppose these barbarous violences:

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regarded: Sentence was producticed against him Fox, vol. ii. p. 734, & feq. Burnet, Heylin, Collier,

² Goodwin de Præful. Angl. Heylin, p. 100.

b Collier, vol. ii. p. 307. from the council books.

Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 271, 272.

1551.

CHAP. They were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwic and his affociates. Join a double

Though every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was during fome time connived at; but at last her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into prison ; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her disobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her fentiments, and to perfuade her that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They asked her what warrant there was in scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, or offering up the facrament for the dead; and they defired her to perufe St. Austin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romish supersition, and prove that it was founded merely on falle miracles and lying stories. The lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herfelf willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: She only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: And as for protestant books, she thanked God, that as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, the endeavoured to make an escape to her kinfman Charles; but her defign was discovered and prevented . The emperor remonstrated in her behalfgiand even threatened hostilities, if liberty of confeience were refused her: But though the council, fentible that the kingdom was in no condition to support with honour such a war, was desirous to

but eranted them a charter, by which they were Strype, vol, ii. p. 249. f Fox, vol. ii. Collier, Burnet. Hayward, p. 315.

comply; they found great difficulty to overcome the CHAP. feruples of the young king. He had been educated XXXV. in fuch a violent abhorrence of the mass and other popish rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he should participate, he thought, in the fin, if he allowed its commission: And when at last the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed fomewhat over his opposition, he burlt into tears; lamenting his fifter's obstinacy, and bewaiting his own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

THE great object, at this time, of antipathy among the protestant sects was popery, or, more properly fpeaking, the papifts. These they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its partifans by fire and fword: They had not as yet had leifure to attend to the other minute differences among themselves, which afterwards became the object of fuch furious guarrels and animofities, and threw the whole kingdom into combustion. Several Lutheran divines who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take shelter in England, from the persecutions which the emperor exercifed in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John A lasco; a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the catholics, fettled during some time at Emden in East Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Forefeeing the perfecutions which enfued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as induftrious useful people, and defired to invite over others of the fame character, not only gave them the church of Augustine friars for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, confilling of a fuperintendant XXXV. 1551.

C H A P. tendant and four affifting ministers. This ecclesiaftical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies h.

THESE differences among the protestants were matter of triumph to the catholics; who infifted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they loft all criterion of truth and falfehood in matters of religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every feet of protestants, afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of Common Prayer suffered in England a new revifal, and fame rites and ceremonies which had given offence were omitted . The speculative doctrines, or the metaphylics of religion, were also reduced to forty-two articles. These were intended to obviate further divisions and variations; and the compiling of them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is afferted in this confession of faith; and care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, how virtuous foever, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who prefumes to maintain that any pagan can possibly be faved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition .

The theological zeal of the council, though feemingly fervent, went not fo far as to make them negleft their own temporal concerns, which feem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts: They even found leifure to attend to the public interest; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was at that time very little the object of general study or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried

h Mem. Cranm. p. 234.

Article xviii.

i Ibid. p. 289.

on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants C H A P. of the Hanse-towns, or Easterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage these merchants to fettle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III. had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from feveral heavy duties paid by other aliens. So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, usually denominated the merchants of the Stil-yard, engrossed, even down to the reign of Edward, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England was also in a very languishing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council to feek pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Englishmen in the duties which they paid; and as fuch patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less furprised to find them revoked by the same authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanfetowns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it foon became wifible to the nation. The English merchants, by their very fituation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commedities; though these advantages had not hitherto been fufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company; But when aliens' duty was also imposed upon all toreigners indifcriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom side and slittle re-

ABOUT the same time a treaty was made with Gultavus Ericfon, king of Sweden, by which it was

Hayward, p. 326. Heylin, p. 108. Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 295.

XXXV. . 1551.

CHAP. Ripulated, that if he fent bullion into England, he might export English commodities without paying custom; that he should carry bullion to no other prince; that if he fent ozimus, steel, copper, &c. he should pay custom for English commodities as an Englishman; and that if he fent other merchandife, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger ". The bullion fent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, fet the mint to work: Good specie was coined: And much of the base metal formerly issued was recalled: A circumstance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce. Manufacture another experience

Warwic created duke of Northumberland.

Bur all these schemes for promoting industry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domestic convultions, arifing from the ambition of Warwic. That nobleman, not contented with the station which he had attained, carried farther his pretentions, and had gained partifans, who were disposed to second him in every enterprise. The last earl of Northumberland died without iffue; and as fir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the share which he had in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the title was at prefent extind, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwie now procured to himself a grant of those ample poffessions, which lay chiefly in the North, the most warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet lord St. John, the treasurer, was created, first, earl of Wiltshire, then marquis of Winchester: fir William Herbert obtained the title a rebellion in London: of earl of Pembroke.

tion.

His ambi- DE Bur the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increase of possessions and titles, either to himself or his partisans, as steps only to farther acquisitions. Finding that Somerfet, though degraded from his dignity, and even lessened in the public t

.1551.

opinion by his spiritless conduct, still enjoyed a con- C H AP. fiderable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more certainty the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and fervants of that unhappy nobleman: He fometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; fometimes provoked him by ill ufage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland: At other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned: His treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every passionate word which dropped from him: They revealed the schemes which they themfelves had first suggested n: And Northumberland. thinking that the proper feafon was now come, began to act in an open manner against him. vieve ni

In one night the duke of Somerfet, lord Grey, 16th Oct. David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's fervants, fir Ralph Vane, and fir Thomas Palmer, were arrested, and committed to cultody. Next day the dutchess of Somerfet, with her favourites Crane and his wife, fir Miles Partridge, fir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a fpy upon Somerfet. accused him of having formed a design to raise an infurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muster-day, to secure the Tower, and to raise a rebellion in London: But, what was the only probable accusation, he afferted, that Somerset had sidma sill once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and

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from his dignity, and even tellened in the public n Heylin, p. 112. m Heylin, p. 10p

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XXXV. 1551.

C H A P. his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony with regard to this last design; and it appears that some rash scheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conspiracy had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confessed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his house at Greenwich.

Trial of Somerfet.

Somerset was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, created high steward. Twentyfeven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerfet was accused of high treason on account of the projected infurrections, and of felony in laying a defign to murder privy-counsellors.

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We have a very imperfect account of all state trials during that age, which is a fenfible defect in our history: But it appears that some more regularity was observed in the management of this profecution than had usually been employed in like cases. aft Decem. The witnesses were at least examined by the privycouncil, and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the prisoner (circumstances required by the strict principles of equity), their depositions were given in to the jury. The proof feems to have been lame with regard to the treasonable part of the charge; and Somerset's defence was fo fatisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: The intention alone of affaulting the privy-counfellors was supported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prisoner himself confessed that he had expressed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any resolution on that head: And when he received fentence, he asked pardon of those peers for the defigns which he had hearkened to against them. The people, by whom Somerfet was beloved, hearing the first part of his ientence, 17

fentence, by which he was acquitted from treason, CHAP. expressed their joy by loud acclamations: But their fatisfaction was fuddenly damped, on finding that he

was condemned to death for felony. GARE had been taken by Northumberland's emif-

faries, to prepoffels the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerfet's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued feries of occupations and amofements. At last the prisoner was brought to the feaffold on Tower-hill, amidit great crowds 22d Jan. of feetators, who bore him fuch fincere kindness that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon . Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preferved as a precious relique; and some of them foon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this, cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerfet, indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, feems in general to have merited a better fate; and the faults which he committed were owing to weaknels, not to any bad intention, His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmnels he was ill fitted to extricate himself from thole cabals and violences to which that age was lo much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, fir Michael Stanhope, fit Miles Partridge, and fir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerfet's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed: Great injuffice feems to have been used in their profecution. Lord Paget, chancelfor of the dutchy, was on some pretence tried in the frar-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000 pounds, with the loss of his office.

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Hayward, p. 320, 321, 322. Stowe, p. 666. Hollingthed,

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CHAP. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from **XXV. the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to have that honour . Lord Rich, chancellor, was also compelled to refign his office, on the discovery of some marks of friendship which he had shown to Somerset.

22d Jan. A parliament.

THE day after the execution of Somerfet, a fession of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authorifed; and penalties were enacted against all those who absented themselves from public worship . To use the mass had already been prohibited under fevere penalties; to that the reformers, it appears, whatever fcope they had given to their own private judgment, in diffitting the tenets of the ancient religion, were refolved not to allow the same privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine of toleration, was at that time equally unknown to all fects and parties. To diffent from the religion of the magiftrate, was univerfally conceived to be as criminal as to question his title, or rebel against his authority.

SIA LAW was enacted against utury; that is, against taking any interest for money. This act was the remains of ancient Superstition; but being found extremely iniquitous in itself, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of interest, notwithstanding the law, was at this time 14 per cent .

O'A BILL was introduced by the ministry into the house of lords, renewing those rigorous statutes of treason which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high station, stood most exposed to these tempests of flate, yet had they fo little regard to public fecurity, soule trulted for protection

3 E A.

a Parliamentary Hiff, vol. iti, p. 158. Burnet, vol. 10 ; \$ 6 Edge VI. cap. 2 1

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⁸ Stowe, p. 668. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. 119 Poid. C. 20. t Hayward, p. 318.

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or even to their own true interest, that they passed C HAP. the bill with only one diffenting voice ". But the XXXV. commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that passed into a law, by which it was enacted, That whoever should call the king or any of his heirs, named in the statute of the 35th of the last reign, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, insidel, or usurper of the crown, should forfeit, for the first offence, their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleafure; for the fecond, should incur a pramunire; for the third, should be attainted for treason. But if any should unadvisedly utter such a slander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was for the first offence to be held a traitor w. Itmay be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were professedly of different religions; and religions which threw on each other the imputation of herefy, schism, idolatry, profane, nefs, blafphemy, wickednefs, and all the opprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almost impossible, therefore, for the people, if they spoke at all on these subjects, not to fall into the crime fo feverely punished by the statute; and the jealoufy of the commons for liberty, though it led

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THE commons annexed to this bill a clause which was of more importance than the bill itself, that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason unless the crime were proved by the oaths of two witnesses confronted with the prisoner. The lords for some time scrupled to pass this clause, though conformable to the most obvious principles of equity. But the members of that house trusted for protection to their prefent personal interest and power, and neg-

them to reject the bill of treasons sent to them by the

lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant,

u Parliamentary Hist. vol. iii. p. 258, Burnet, vol. ii. p. 190. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

1552.

CHAP. lected the noblest and most permanent security, that

The house of peers passed a bill, whose object was making a provision for the poor; but the commons, not chusing that a money-bill should begin in the upper house, framed a new act to the same purpose. By this act the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded others from that charity, the bishop of the diocese was empowered to proceed against them. Such large discretionary powers intrusted to the prelates, seem as proper an object of jealousy as the authority assumed by the peers.

THERE was another occasion in which the parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the bishops. They empowered them to proceed against such as neglected the Sundays and holidays. But these were unguarded concessions granted to the church: The general humour of the age rather led men to be reave the ecclesiastics of all power, and even to pillage them of their property: Many clergymen about this time were obliged for a subsistance to turn carpenters or taylors, and some kept ale-houses. The bishops themselves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and spiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficience. He had opposed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. His known probity had made this compliance be ascribed, not to an interested or time-

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x 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2. y Ibid. cap. 3. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 202.

XXXV.

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ferving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him C H A P. to think, that all private opinion ought to be facrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character had protected him from any fevere treatment during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the afcendant; he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himfelf a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved, in order to effect his purpose, to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of mifprison of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against the prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and fincere friendship to the bishop of Durham. But when the bill was fent down to the commons, they required that witnesses should be examined, that Tonstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers: And when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill.

THIS equity, fo unusual in the parliament during that age, was afcribed by Northumberland and his partifans, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerfet's faction in a house of commons, which, being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, had been almost entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerfet and his accomplices; was also rejected by the commons, though it had paffed the upper house. A resolution was therefore taken to dissolve the parliament, which had April 15. litten during this whole reign; and foon after to lummon a new one.

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NORTHUM-

A new parliament.

HAP. NORTHUMBERLAND, in order to ensure to himfelf a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ventured on an expedient, which could not have been practifed, or even imagined, in an age where there was any idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they were required to choose men of knowledge and experience for their reprefentatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued in these words: "And yet, nevertheless, "our pleasure is, that where our privy-council, or " any of them, shall, in our behalf, recommend "within their jurisdiction men of learning and wis-dom; in such cases their directions shall be re-" garded and followed, as tending to the fame end "which we defire; that is, to have this affembly " composed of the persons in our realm the best "fitted to give advice and good counsel"." Several letters were fent from the king, recommending members to particular counties, fir Richard Cotton to Hampshire; fir William Fiztwilliams and fir Henry Nevil to Berkshire; fir William Drury and fir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though some counties only received this species of congé d' elire from the king; the recommendations from the privy-council and the counfellors, we may fairly prefume, would extend to the greater part, if not to the whole of the kingdom.

LT is remarkable that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to; and that it gave so little umbrage as fearcely to be taken notice of by any historian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the most trivial matter, is the only

perfon

^{*} Strype's Ecclefiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 394

XXXV.

1553.

person that has thought this memorable letter worthy CHAP. of being transmitted to posterity.

THE parliament answered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonftal had in the interval been ift March, deprived of his bishopric in an arbitrary manner, by the fentence of lay commissioners appointed to try him, the fee of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The regalities of the fee, which included the jurisdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had also purposed to make rich plunder of the revenue as was then usual with the courtiers whenever a bishopric became vacant. I dan at ; mob

THE commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most fincere of any, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained: They granted a supply of two subfidies and two fifteenths. To render this prefent the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerfet, " for in-"volving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and giving occasion for a most terrible

"tebellion" . The second

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The debts of the crown were at this time confiderable. The king had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the fale of fome chantry lands; the churches had been spoiled of all their plate and tich ornaments, which by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been comverted to the king's use . Yet fuch had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds a; and great dilapidations were at

b 7 Edw. VI. cap. 12. C Heylin, p. 95. 132.

A Strype's Ecclefiaftical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 344.

1553.

CHAP, the same time made of the royal demesnes. The young prince showed, among other virtues, a difposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would foon have retrieved these losses: But as his health was declining very fast, the present emptiness of the exchequer was a fensible obstacle to the execution of those projects which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the prospect of Edward's approaching end.

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Succession changed.

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THAT nobleman represented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of any impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament: And though Henry by his will had reftored them to a place in the fuccession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard: That they were the king's fifters by the half-blood only; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and fuccessors: That the queen of Scots stood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had loft by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would by her succession render England, as she had already done Scotland, a province to France: That the certain consequence of his fifter Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome; That, fortunately for England, the same order of succesfion which justice required, was also the most conformable to public interest; and there was not on any fide any just ground for doubt or deliberation: That when these three princesses were excluded by fuch folid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk: That the next heir of

1553.

of the marchioness was the lady Jane Gray, a lady CHAP. of the most amiable character, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: And that even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the fame power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the protestant religion made him apprehend the confequences, if so bigotted a catholic as his fifter Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he bore a fender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no fuch objection, means were found to perfuade him that he could not exclude the one fifter on account of illegitimacy, without giving also an exclusion to the other.

NORTHUMBERLAND, finding that his arguments' were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk by a fecond venter having died this feafon of the fweating fickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour, and of others which he conferred upon him, he perfuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the duchels to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth fon the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the lady Catherine Gray, fecond daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeft fon of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon . These marriages were solemnised with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing



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CHAP their indignation at feeing fuch public demonstrations of joy during the languishing state of the young prince's health. a med bad . HIV

EDWARD had been feized in the foregoing year, first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both thefe diftempers, the nation entertained hopes that they would only serve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progress through some parts of the The king's kingdom. It was suspected that he had there overheated himself in exercise: He was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: Several fatal fymptoms of a confumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that as the feafon advanced his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men faw with great concern his bloom and vigour infenfibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber ment to the beidut

THE languishing state of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king: He himself attended him with the greatest assiduity: He pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare: And by all these artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final confeat to the fettlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, fir John Baker and fir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and folicitor-general, were fummoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hefitated to obey; and defired time to consider of it.

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The more they reflected, the greater danger they CHAP. found in compliance. The fettlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treafon in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of fuccession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that fuch a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who figned it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving fanction to the new fettlement, and freeing its partifans from danger, was to fummon a parliament, and to obtain the confent of that affembly. The king faid, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges that their refusal would fubject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and faid, that he would in his shirt fight any man in so just a cause as that of lady Jane's succesfion. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and those which arose from the violence of present power and authority and some and the defended he property

THE arguments were canvaffed in feveral different meetings between the council and the judges; and no folution could be found of the difficulties. At last Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He defired that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a

f Fuller, book viii, p. 2.

36.1

CHAP, patent for the new fettlement of the crown; and that

a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the bishop of Ely chancellor, in order to have the great feal affixed to it, this prelate required that all the judges should previously sign it. Gosnald at first refused; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the constancy of fir James Hales, who, though a zealous protestant, preferred justice on this occasion to the prejudices of his party, could not be shaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater fecurity, that all the privy counfellors should fet their hands to the patent: The intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were fo prevalent, that the counfellors complied with this 21st June. demand. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but at last yielded to the earnest and pathetic intreaties of the king . Cecil, at that time fecretary of state, pretended afterwards that he only figned as witness to the king's subscription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, were fet afide; and the crown was fettled on the heirs of the dutchess of Suffolk: For the dutchess herself was content to give place to her daughters.

AFTER this fettlement was made, with fo many inauspicious circumstances, Edward visibly declined every day; and small hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worse, his physicians were difmiffed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symp-

8 Cranm. Mem. p. 295.

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toms increased to the most violent degree: He felt CHAP. a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs fwelled, his colour became livid; and many 1553.
other fymptoms appeared of his approaching end, and death, oth July. He expired at Greenwich, in the fixteenth year of his age, and the feventh of his reign,

ALL the English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promifes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, application to study and business, a capacity to learn, and judge, and an attachment to equity and justice. He feems only to have contracted, from his education and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepoffession in matters of religion, which made him incline somewhat to bigotry and perfecution: But as the bigotry of protestants, less governed by priests, lies under more restraints than that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the less to be apprehended, if a longer life had been granted to young Edward

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* Cranm Ment p agg.

solvering the samiliarited to these tentiments: the base of the relun of Leward, the princels was The graduate of the cheek of her prejudices the

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ment of possible and military to oblight Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen-Deferted by the people-The queen proclaimed and acknowledged Northumberland executed—Catholic religion restored - A parliament - Deliberations with regard to the queen's marriage-Queen's marriage with Philip-Wyat's infurrection-Suppressed -- Execution of lady Jane Gray-A parliament—Philip's arrival in England.

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HE title of the princess Mary, after the demife of her brother, was not exposed to any confiderable difficulty; and the objections started by the lady Jane's partifans were new and unheard-of by the nation. Though all the protestants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and feemingly founded on those principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few imagined that their iffue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpose had indeed been extorted from parliament by the usual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to restore his daughter to the right of succession, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as



ratio More pine! From a Picture in profreshion of the Cart of Oxford . Trotter south.

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it was ever esteemed just and natural. The public CHAP. had long been familiarised to these sentiments: During all the reign of Edward, the princess was regarded as his lawful fucceffor: And though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred univerfally entertained against the Dudleys 8, who men forefaw would, under the name of Jane, be the real fovereigns, was more than fufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt to violate the order of succession, had displayed Northumberland's ambition and injustice in a full light; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity, and cruelty by which that project had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princesses, had been facrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to exert themselves in opposition to such criminal enterprises. The general veneration also paid to the memory of Henry VIII. prompted the nation to defend the rights of his posterity; and the miseries of the ancient civil wars were not so entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the danger of like bloodshed and

NORTHUMBERLAND, fensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, dear firing their attendance, on pretence that his infirm flate of health required the affiftance of their counfel, and the confolation of their company . Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept the king's death still secret; and the lady Mary

h Heylin, p. 154.

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CHAP. had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel fent her private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her : She immediately made hafte to retire; and she arrived, by quick journies, first at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where she purposed to embark and escape to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her right of fuccession. She wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county in England; commanding them to affift her in the defence of her crown and person. And she dispatched a message to the council; by which she notified to them that her brother's death was no longer a fecret to her, promifed them pardon for past offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London .

NORTHUMBERLAND found that farther diffimulation was fruitles: He went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who refided there, with all the refpect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and furprise that she received intelligence of them. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, accomplished parts: and being of an equal age with the late king, the had received all her education with him, and feemed even to possess greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amuse-

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen.

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k Fox, vol. iii. p. 14. 1 Burnet, vol. ii. p. 233.

m Godwin in Kennet, p. 329. 1 Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 10. Heylin, p. 149. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 234.

ments usual with her fex and station. Roger Ascham, C H A P. tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his admiring the fingularity of her choice, she told him that she received more pleafure from that author than the others could reap from all their sport and gaiety". Her heart, full of this passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deferving of her affections, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the intelligence of her elevation to the throne was nowife agreeable to her. She even refused to accept of the prefent; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the confequences attending an enterprife fo dangerous, not to fay fo criminal; and defired to remain in the private station in which she was born. Overcome at last by the entreaties rather than the reasons of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her hufband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. It was then usual for the kings of England, after their accession, to pass the first days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new fovereign. All the counfellors were obliged to attend her to that fortress; and by this means became in reality prisoners in the hands of Northumberland; whose will they were necessitated to obey. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: The people heard the proclamation with filence and concern: Some even expressed their scorn and contempt; and one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was severely punished for this offence.

Afcham's works, p. 222, 223.

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CHAP the protestant teachers themselves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found fheir eloquence fruitles; and Ridley, biffiop of London, who preached a fermon to that purpose, wrought no effect upon his audience in stom 25 W

The people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their altendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, ainlidh their tenders of duty, expressing apprehenflons for their religion; but when the affored them that the never meant to change the laws of Edward, they inlifted themselves in her cause with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Suffex, the eldelt fons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, fir William Drury, fir Henry Benningfield, fir Henry Jernegan, persons whole interest lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers . Sir Edward Haltings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commission from the council to make levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamshire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thouland men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet which had been fent by Northumberland to lie off the coast of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a storm, was engaged to declare for that princes. In anisd

NORTHUMBERLAND, hitherto blinded by am-Bition, faw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himself. He had levied forces, which were affembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counfellors, whole compliance he knew had been entirely the refult of fear or artifice, he was resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and send Suffolk to command the army. But the counsellors who wished to remove him , working on the filial ten-

o Heylin, p. 160. Rurnet, vol. ii. p. 237. R. Godwin, p. 330. Heylin, p. 159. Burnet, vol. ii, p. 239. Fox, vol. iii. p. 15.

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Lady Jane deferted by the

dernels of Jane, magnified to her the danger to CHAP. which her father would be exposed; and represented that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly suppressing a rebellion in those parts, was more proper to command in that enterprise. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, began to think that none but himself was able to encounter the present danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counsellors attended on him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel his mortal enemy 9. As he went along, he remarked the difaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal iffue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," faid he to lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who "cries, God speed you'!"

THE duke had no fooner reached St Edmund'sbury, than he found his army, which did not exceed fix thousand men, too weak to encounter the queen's , which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, defiring them to fend him a reinforcement; and the counfellors immediately laid hold of the opportunity to free themselves from confinement. They left the Tower, as if they Lady Jane meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but deferted by the being affembled in Baynard's castle, a house be-people. longing to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of shaking off his usurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprise which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed, that the only method of making atonement for their past offences, was by a speedy return to the duty

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⁴ Heylin, p. 161. Baker, p. 315. Hollingsted; p. 1086.

s Godwin, p. 331. r Speed, p. 816.

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CHAP. which they owed to their lawful fovereign t. motion was feconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his fword, fwore he was ready to fight any man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately fent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by fhouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding refistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more fatisfaction than the felt when the royalty was tendered to her : And the messengers who were sent to Northumberland with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deferted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and The queen fatisfaction . The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave fenfible exprefknowledge from of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support 15TUD9X9 their joint title against the usurper x.

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> ESTHE queen gave orders for taking into custody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arrested him, and abjectly begged his life. At the fame time were committed the earl of Warwic his eldest fon, lord Ambrofe and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger fons, fir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, fir Thomas Palmer, and fir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane

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Godwin, p. 331, 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii.

Godwin, p. 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2. p. 612. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 240. Heylin, p. 19. Stowe, p. 613. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Stowe, p. 612. Baker, 9, 315. Hollingshed, p. 1088.

Grey, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was CHAP. defirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treafon, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himfelf recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence in a great measure to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only defired permission to alk two questions of the peers appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great feal? and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself could fit as his judges? Being told that the great feal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons not lying under any fentence of attainder were still innocent assuped I in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury 2; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his 22d Aug. execution he made profession of the catholic relia gion, and told the people that they never would executed. enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors: Whether that such were his real fentiments, which he had formerly disguised from interest and ambition, or that he hoped by this declaration to render the queen more favourable to his family. Sir Thomas Palmer and fir John Gates fuffered with him; and this was all the blood fpilled on account of fo dangerous and criminal an enterprise against the rights of the sovereign Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any present intention of

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Burnet, vol. ii. p. 243. Heylin, p. 18. Baker, p. 316. Hollingshed, p. 7089. Heylin, p. 19. Burnet, vol iu. p. 243. Stowe, p. 614. (12 4 11 der abartell va 1 10 0

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C H A P. putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their feventeenth year, pleaded sufficiently in their favour.

WHEN Mary first arrived in the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever fince his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cause, appeared before her and implored her clemency and protection b. They were all of them restored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding that it had passed in parliament, was represented as null and invalid; because, among other informalities, no special matter had been alleged against him, except wearing a coat of arms which he and his ancestors without giving any offence had always made use of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation. Courtney foon after received the title of earl of Devonshire; and though educated in such close confinement, that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he foon acquired all the accomplishments of a courfier and a gentleman, and made a confiderable figure during the few years which he lived after he recovered his liberty. Besides performing all those popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herfelf with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with fome exceptions, and by remitting the fubfidy voted to her brother by the last parliament 4.

THE joy arising from the succession of the lawful heir, and from the gracious demeanor of the fove-

and replaced Lonlial b Heylin, p. 20. Stowe, p. 613. Hollingshed, p. 1088.

Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 246, 247,

⁴ Stowe, p. 616.

reign, hindered not the people from being agitated CHAP. with great anxiety concerning the state of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the protestant communion, the apprehensions entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be somewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princers, being educated with her mother, had imbibed the frongest attachment to the catholic communion, and the highest aversion to those new tenets; whence the believed all the misfortunes of her family had originally forung. The discouragements which the lay under from her father, though at last they brought her to comply with his will, tended still more to increase her disgust to the reformers; and the vexations which the protector and the council gave her during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her farther in her prejudices. Naturally of a four and obstinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, the possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reason to dread not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long ere the discovered her intentions.

GARDINER, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, and Catholic Vesey, were reinstated in their sees, either by a direct act of power, or what is nearly the fame, by the sentence of commissioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the bishoptic of Durham had been dissolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters patent, and replaced Tonstal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy,

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CHAP. she filenced, by an act of prerogative, tall the preachers throughout England, except fuch as should obtain a particular licence; and it was easy to forefee that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Glocester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was fent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hales, who had discovered fuch constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with fuch feverity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himself. The men of Suffolk were browbeaten; because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen, when they enlifted themselves in her fervice, had given them of maintaining the reformed religion: One in particular was fet in the pillory, because he had been too preremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which she had taken on that occasion. And though the queen still promised, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her, men forefaw that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble fecurity when fet in opposition to religious prejudices.

THE merits of Cranmer towards the queen during the reign of Henry had been considerable; and he had fuccessfully employed his good offices in mitigating the fevere prejudices which that monarch had entertained against her. But the active part which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in foliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made fuf-

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ficient atonement by his fufferings in defence of CHAP. the catholic cause. The primate, therefore, had reason to expect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indifcreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution. A report being spread, that Cranmer, in order to pay court to the queen, had promifed to officiate in the Latin fervice, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, that as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time stirred up his servants to perfecute Christ and his true religion: That this infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin fatisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effect his purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority: And that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is besides replete with many horrid blasphemies f. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of the greater part of them, this fentence, however fevere, must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was referved for a more cruel punishment.

PETER Martyr, feeing a perfecution gathering against the reformers, defired leave to withdraw ;

Fox, vol. iii. p. 94. Heylin, p. 25. Godwin, p. 336. Burnet, vol. ii. Col. No 8. Cranm. Mem. p. 305. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 3.

Heylin, p. 26. Godwin, p. 336. Cranm. Mem. p. 317.



GHAP, and while some zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government. and generously furnished him with supplies for his journey: But as bigotted zeal still increased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill b. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the fame time committed to the flames at Cambridge . John à Lasco was first filenced, then ordered to depart the king. dom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants followed him; and the nation thereby loft many ufeful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a difmal aspect for the reformation.

5th O&. A parliament.

During this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by protestants from the parliament, which was fummoned to affemble. A zealous reformer k pretends, that great violence and iniquity were used in the elections; but besides that the authority of this writer is inconsiderable, that practice, as the necessities of government seldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There still remained fuch numbers devoted by opinion or affection to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give fuch candidates the preference in most elections; and all those who hesitated to comply with the court religion rather declined taking a feat, which while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that a majority of the commons

h Heylin, p. 26. i Saunders de Schism. Anglic.

k Beale. But Fox, who lived at the time, and is very minute in his narratives, fays nothing of the matter. See vol. iii. p, 16,

would be obsequious to Mary's defigns; and as the CHAP. peers were mostly attached to the court, from interest or expectations, little opposition was expected from that quarter. wanted bediented when

In opening the parliament, the court showed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houses a mass of the Holy Ghost in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament! Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this fervice, was feverely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house m. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the fame condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

THE first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treafon not contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII . The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote?. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was more rea-

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^m Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252,

ⁿ Mariæ, fess. i. c. r. By this repeal, though it was in general popular, the clause of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was lost, which required the confronting of two witnesses, in order to prove any

P Mariæ, feff. ii. c. I. P I Mariæ, feff. ii. c. I.

1553.

CHAP fonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid without farther authority. Many clauses of the riot act passed in the late reign were revived: A step which eluded in a great measure the popular statute

enacted at the first meeting of parliament.

Norwithstanding the compliance of the two houses with the queen's inclinations, they had still a reserve in certain articles; and her choice of a husband in particular was of such importance to national interest, that they were determined not to fubmit tamely in that respect to her will and pleafure. There were three marriages q, concerning which it was supposed that Mary had deliberated after her accession. The first person proposed to her was Courtney earl of Devonshire, who being an Englishman nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging person and address, he had visibly gained on the queen's affections, and hints were dropped him of her favourable dispositions towards him? But that nobleman neglected these overtures; and feemed rather to attach himself to the lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her fifter. This choice occasioned a great coldness in Mary towards Devonshire; and made her break out in a declared animosity against Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had funk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, she wanted not a pretence for reprefenting the birth of her fifter as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princess had made some difficulty in dif-

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Thuan. lib. ii. c. 3. Pepeches de Noailles, vol. ii. 8 Godwin, p. 339. p. 147. 163. 214, 215. vol. iii. p. 27.

1553-

guifing her fentiments, violent menaces had been CHAP. employed to bring her to compliance'. But when the queen found that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point which perhaps touched her still more nearly, her refentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princess was visibly ex-

posed to the greatest danger ".

CARDINAL Pole, who had never taken priefts orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul III."; the queen's affection for the countels of Salisbury, his mother, who had once been her governess; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of fludy and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the buftle of a court and the hurry of business. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of that alliance: But as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negociation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Bruffels; she fent affurances to the pope, then Julius III. of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and she defired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office y.

* Heylin, p. 31.

u Heylin, p. 31. Dep. de Noailles, vol. ii. passim. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 255. w Father Paul, book iii. 7 Burnet, vol. ii. p. 258.

XXXVI.

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CHAP. THESE two marriages being rejected, the queen cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which during her own distresses had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles V. who a few years before was almost absolute master of Germany, had exercised his power in such an arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme disgust to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties from the encroachments of that monarch 2. Religion had ferved him as a pretence for his usurpations; and from the same principle he met with that opposition which overthrew his grandeur and dashed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Hesse, who, by his advice and on his affurances, had put himself into the emperor's hands, should be unjustly detained a prisoner, formed a secret conspiracy among the protestant princes; and covering his intentions with the most artful disguises, he suddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly miffed becoming mafter of his person. The protestants flew to arms in every quarter; and their infurrection, aided by an invalion from France, reduced the emperor to fuch difficulties that he was obliged to submit to terms of peace, which insured the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour he made an attack on France; and laying flege to Metz with an army of a hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprise in person, and feemed determined at all hazards to succeed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe But the duke of Guife, who defended Metz, with a garrifon composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted fuch vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the fiege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to

> s of the cour Z Thuanus, lib. iv. c. 17.

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persevere any longer. He retired with the remains CHAP. of his army into the Low Countries, much dejected XXXVI. with that reverse of fortune which in his declining years had fo fatally overtaken him.

1553.

Wo No fooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped by this incident to balance all the loffes which he had fustained in Germany. His fon Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-feven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection it was thought would be overlooked. and there was no reason to despair of her still having a numerous iffue. The emperor, therefore, immediately fent over an agent to fignify his intentions to Mary, who, pleafed with the support of so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herfelf more closely with her mother's family, to which the was ever ftrongly attached, readily embraced the propofal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match : And Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, seconded the project of the Spanish alliance. At the same time he represented both to her and the emperor, the necessity of stopping all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He observed that the parliament amidst all their compliances had discovered evident symptoms of jealoufy, and feemed at prefent determined to grant no farther concessions in favour of the catholic religion: That though they might make a facrifice to their fovereign of some speculative principles which they did not well comprehend, or of some rites which seemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed fuch strong prejudices against the pretended usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome,

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C H A P. Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to fubmit to its authority: That the danger of refuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepoffessions which were but too general among the people, against the doctrine and worship of the catholic church: That much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point were urged at the same time with farther changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and infurrection: That the marriage being once completed, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which she was engaged: And that it was even necessary previously to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the English, and such as would feem to enfure to them their independency, and the entire possession of their ancient laws and privileges 2.

THE emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, affented to all these reasons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more fincere in his religious opinions, and less guided by the maxims of human policy, after having fent contrary advice to the queen, had fet out on his journey to England, where he was to exercise his legantine commission; he thought proper to stop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's confent for this detention. The negotiation for the marriage meanwhile proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions of espousing Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the

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concessions which they had already made, were CHAP. alarmed to hear that she was resolved to contract a XXXVI. foreign alliance; and they fent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous 6th Dec. measure. To prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

A CONVOCATION had been fummoned at the fame time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article which of all others they deemed the clearest, and founded on the most irresistible arguments, they chose to try their strength by defending it. protestants pushed the dispute as far as the clamour and noise of their antagonists would permit; and they fondly imagined that they had obtained fome advantage, when in the course of the debate they obliged the catholics to avow that, according to their doctrine, Christ had in his last supper held himself in his hand, and had swallowed and eaten himself. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: The Romanists maintained, that their champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to contest such self-evident principles; and that the severest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleafed were they with their superiority in this favourite point, that they foon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to show that they feared no force of learning or abilities, where reason was so evidently on their fide, they fent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controversialists could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled

Collier, vol. ii. p. 356. Fox, vol. iii. p. 22.

C H A P. principles b. The iffue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference held at the same place during the reign of Edward. Is mean and write

1554.

AFTER the parliament and convocation were difmiffed, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated in most places by the zeal of the catholics, countenanced by government, were still more openly put in execution: The mass was every where re-established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. It has been afferted by some writers, that three fourths of the clergy were at this time deprived of their livings; though other historians, more accurate, have estimated the number of sufferers to be far short of this proportion. A visitation was appointed, in order to restore more perfectly the mass and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice . It is to be observed, that this oath had been established by the laws of Henry VIII. which were still in force.

Queen's marriage with Philip.

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THIS violent and fudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent; and even affected indifferent spectators with concern, by the hardships to which so many individuals were on that account exposed. But the Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehenfions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should

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⁶ Mem. Cranm. p. 354. Heylin, p. 50. C Harmer, p. 138. 4 Celliet, vol. ii. p. 364. Fox, vol. iii. p. 38. Heylin, p 35. Sleidan, lib. 25- n il for polling M ab grabago U.

1554.

be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; CAAP. that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her confent, nor any of her children without the confent of the nobility; that fixty thousand pounds a year should be fettled as her jointure; that the male iffue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's fon by his former marriage, should die and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip . Such was the treaty of marriage figned by count Egmont, and three other ambassadors sent over to England by 15th Jan. the emperor .

THE PROPERTY

Philip

THESE articles, when published, gave no satisfaction to the nation: It was univerfally faid that the emperor, in order to get possession of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded that he had no ferious intention of observing them: That the usual fraud and ambition of that monarch might affure the nation of fuch a conduct; and his fon Philip, while he inherited these vices from his father, added to them tyranny, fullenness, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: That England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which usually exercised the most violent authority over all her dependant dominions: That the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples, groaned under the burthen of Spanish tyranny; and throughout all the new conquelts in America there had been displayed scenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the history of mankind: That the inquifition was a tribunal invented by that ty-

Rymer, xv. p. 377.

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f Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 299. C C 2

CHAP. XXXVI.

1554.

rannical nation; and would infallibly, with all their other laws and institutions, be introduced into England: And that the divided fentiments of the people with regard to religion would subject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole

nation to the most abject fervitude .

THESE complaints being diffused every where, prepared the people for a rebellion; and had any toreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the confequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But the king of France, though engaged in hoftilities with the emperor, refused to concur in any proposal for an insurrection, lest he should afford Mary a pretence for declaring war against him b. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought, that as the evils of the Spanish alliance were only dreaded at a distance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some persons, however, more turbulent than the rest, believed that it would be fafer to prevent than to redrefs grievances; and they formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Wiat's in- Sir Thomas Wiat purposed to raise Kent, fir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties. Carew's impatience or apprehensions engaged him to break the concert, and to rife in arms before the day appointed: He was foon suppreffed by the earl of Bedford, and constrained to fly into France. On this intelligence Suffolk, dreading an arrest, suddenly left the town, with his brothers lord Thomas and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raife the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester, where his interest lay; but he was so

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⁸ Heylin, p. 32. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 268. Godwin, p. 339.

h Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 249. vol. iii. p. 17. 58. 1 Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 340.

closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the CHAP. head of 300 horse, that he was obliged to disperse his followers, and being discovered in his concealment, he was carried prisoner to London . Wiat was at first more successful in his attempt; and having published a declaration at Maidstone in Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk, with fir Henry Jernegan, was fent against him, at the head of the guards and some other troops, reinforced with 500 Londoners commanded by Bret: And he came within fight of the rebels at Rochester, where they had fixed their head-quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to defert from them; but having fecretly gained Bret, thefe two malcontents fo wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deferted to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute to enflave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took shelter in the city '.

AFTER this proof of the dispositions of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed: He led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen that she should put the Tower into his hands, should deliver four counsellors as hostages, and, in order to ensure the liberty of the nation, should immediately marry an Englishman. Finding that the bridge was secured against him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with 4000 men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partisans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had im-

k Fox, vol. iii. p. 30.

1 Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 341.

Stowe, p. 619. Baker, p. 318. Hollingshed, p. 1094.

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XXXVI.

1554.

6th Feb.

Infurrections fuppreffed.

C'HAP. prudently wasted fo much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingston, that the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost: Though he entered Westminster without refistance, his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, infenfibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple-Bar by fir Maurice Berkeley". Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion n: Four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees received a pardon and were difmissed. Wiat was condemned and executed: As it had been reported that, on his examination, he had accused the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire as accomplices, he took care of the feaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any share in his rebellion.

Fire lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her fifter; and many Rudied instances of discouragement and disrespect had been practifed against her. She was ordered to take place at court after the countels of Lenox and the dutchess of Suffolk, as if the were not legitimate . Her friends were discountenanced on every occasion: And while her virtues, which were now become eminent, drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation to the malevolence of the queen still discovered itself every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the princess to retire into the country. Mary feized the opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to involve her fifter in some appearance of guilt, fent for her under a strong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined by the council. But the public declaration made

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m Fox, vol. iii. p 31. Heylin, p. 34. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 270. Stowe, p. 621. n Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 124. o Ibid, vol. ii. p. 273. 288. P Ibid p. 283.

by Wiat rendered it impracticable to employ against CHAP. her any false evidence which might have offered; and the princess made so good a defence, that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her. In order to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard at Wodestoke. The earl of Devonshire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay castle.

Bur this rebellion proved still more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her hufband: The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and though the rebels and malcontents feemed chiefly to rest their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the queen, incapable of generosity or clemency, determined to remove every person from whom the least danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the miffortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered nowife unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to fend divines, who haraffed her with perpetual disputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that the would be perfuaded during that time to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had prefence of mind, in those melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her fifter' in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the scriptures in that tongue, the exhorted her to maintain,

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⁹ Godwin, p. 343. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 273. Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. 105. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 85.

7 Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 226.

8 Fox, vol. iii. p. 35. Heylin, p. 166.

1554. 12th Feb.

CHAP. in every fortune, a like steady perseverance. On the day of her execution her husband, lord Guilford, defired permission to see her; but she refused her confent, and informed him by a meffage, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy which their approaching end required of them: Their feparation, she faid, would be only for a moment; and they would foon rejoin each other in a scene where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, difappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have access to them, or disturb their eternal felicity .

> IT had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the fame fcaffold at Towerhill; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that she should be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She faw her husband led to execution; and having given him from the window fome token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even faw his headless body carried back in a cart; and found herself more confirmed by the reports which she heard of the constancy of his end, than shaken by so tender and melancholy a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, defired her to bestow on him fome finall prefent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: She gave him her tablebook, on which the had just written three fentences on feeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, amother in Latin, a third in English". The purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his foul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her

Execution of lady Jane Gray.

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Heylin, p. 167. Baker, p. 319. Heylin, p. 167. youth youth at least, and her imprudence were worthy of CHAP. excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, XXXVI would show her favour. On the scaffold she made a fpeech to the by-standers; in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herfelf, without uttering one complaint against the feverity with which she had been treated. She faid that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with fufficient constancy: That she had less erred through ambition than through reverence to her parentsy whom she had been taught to respect and obey; That the willingly received death, as the only fatiffaction which she could now make to the injurted state; and though her infringement of the laws had been constrained, she would show, by her voluntary fubmission to their sentence, that she was defirous to atone for that disobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: That the had justly deserved this punishment for being made the instruction and ment, though the unwilling instrument, of the ams bition of others: And that the story of her life, she hoped, might at least be useful, by proving that in nocence excuses not great misdeeds, if they tend any wife to the destruction of the commonwealth. After uttering these words, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women; and with a steddy ferene counter nance submitted herself to the executioner widol ris THE duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and

of lady Jane Gray.

executed foon after; and would have met with more compassion, had not his temerity been the cause of his daughter's untimely end. Lord Thomas Gray loft his life for the same crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no fatisfactory evidence against him, he was able, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour. The queen was

MILLOY

w Heylin, p. 167. Fox, vol. iii. p. 36, 37. Hollingshed, p. 1099.

XXXVI. 1554.

CHAP fo enraged at the disappointment, that instead of releafing him as the law required, the re-committed him to the Tower, and kept him in close confinement during some time. But her refentment stopped not here: The jury, being fummoned before the council, were all fent to prison, and afterwards fined, fome of them a thouland pounds, others two thousand a-piece x. This violence proved fatal to feveral; among others, to fir John Throgmorton, brother to fir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected. The queen filled the Tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her fuspicion. And finding that the was univerfally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commiffioners to feize their arms, and lay them up in forts and castles y.

A parliament. 5th April. Though the government laboured under fo general an odium, the queen's authority had received fuch an increase from the suppression of Wiat's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to affemble. The emperor alfo, in order to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than 400,000 crowns, which he had fent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members: A pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any instance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen, notwithstanding her bigotry, refumed her title of supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened

x Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Stowe, p. 624. Baker, p. 320. Hollingfhed, p. 1104. 1121. Strype, vol. iii. p. 120. Dep. de Noailles, y Dep. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 98. vol. iii. p. 173.

1554.

the fession by a speech; in which he afferted the CHAP. queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of chusing a husband for herself; observed how proper a use she had made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, descended from the house of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry VIII.'s posterity, of whom there now remained none but the queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that in order to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen, by law, with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her fuccessor: A power, he said, which was not to be thought unprecedented in England, fince it had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII 2.

THE parliament was much disposed to gratify the queen in all her defires; but when the liberty, independency, and very being of the nation were in fuch visible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which she bore to the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the house of Austria: They were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to postpone all confiderations of justice or national interest to the establishment of the catholic religion: They remarked that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in his speech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the queen's fifter; and they thence concluded that a defign was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: They expected that Mary, if invested with such a power as the required, would make a will in her husband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy: And they were the more alarmed with these projects, as they heard that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster

2 Depeches de Noailles.

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1554.

C H A P. was carefully infifted on, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inrecard to religion, about which they lecuisonerind

THE parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a diffance from the precipice which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage a, which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined the paffing of any fuch law as the chancellor pointed out to them: They would not fo much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill introduced for that purpose was laid afide after the first reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they paffed a law in which they declared, "That her majesty, as their only queen, should folely, and as a fole queen, enjoy the crown and fovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtely of the realm, or by any other means b."

A LAW passed in this parliament for re-erecting the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward . The queen had already, by an exertion of her power, put Ton-Ital in poffession of that see: But though it was ufual at that time for the crown to assume authority which might feem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more fafe and fatisfactory to procure the fanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the fix articles, together with those against the Lollards, and against herefy and erroneous preaching: But none of these laws

51346 c Ibid. cap. 3.

a 1 Mar. parl. 2. cap. 2.

could pals the two houses: A proof that the par- C HAP. liament had referves even in their concessions with regard to religion, about which they feem to have been less scrupulous. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not ferve all her purpofes, finished the fession by dissolving them.

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MARY's thoughts were now entirely employed 5th May. about receiving Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected. This princess, who had lived so many years in a very referved and private manner, without any prospect or hopes of a husband, was so fmitten with affection for her young confort, whom the had never feen, that the waited with the utmost impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a source of anxiety and difcontent d. She complained of Philip's delays, as affected; and she could not conceal her vexation. that though she brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with fuch neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a fingle letters. Her fondness was but the more increased by this fupercilious treatment; and when the found that her fubjects had entertained the greatest aversion for the event to which she directed her fondest wishes, the made the whole English nation the object of her refentment. A fquadron under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then relided; but the admiral informing her that the discontents ran very high among the feamen, and that it was not fafe for Philip to entrust himself in their hands, the gave orders to dismiss them f. She then dreaded left the French fleet, being mafters of the fea, might intercept her husband; and every rumour of danger, every blast of wind, threw her into panics and convulsions. Her health, and even her understanding,

· Ibid. cap. 3.

d Strype, vol. iii. p. 125 Depeches de Noaffles, vol. fii. p. 248. gen bid f Ibid. p. 220. gen as had as Me

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CHAP. were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and the was ftruck with a new apprehension left her perfon, impaired by time, and blafted by fickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to defire or apprehend the arrival of Philip 4.

roth July. Philip's arrival in England.

AT last came the moment so impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at Southampton h. 'A few days after, they were married in Westminster; and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great oftentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards refided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and referved in his address; took no notice of the falutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inacceffible : But this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who defired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness. The shortest absence gave her vexation; and when he showed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealoufy and refentment.

MARY foon found that Philip's ruling paffion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him, and fecuring his affections, was to render OUT 6

him

Depeches de Noailles, vol. in. p. 222, 254, 253.

h Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Heylin, p. 39 Burnet, vol. iii. p. 392. Godwin, p. 345. We are told by fir William Monton, p. 225, that the admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy, when Philip was on board; because they had not lowered their topsails, as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas: A very spirited behaviour, and very unlike those times. Baker, p. 320.

him master of England. The interest and liberty C HAP. of her people were confiderations of small moment, in comparison of her obtaining this favourite point. She fummoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that she might acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members k. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of 12th Nov. Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the difcouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants; all these causes seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a house of commons, which was in a great measure to her fatisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now fafely omit, on her assembling the parliament, the title of fupreme head of the church, though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England. Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, invested with legantine powers from the pope: In order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act reverfing his attainder, and restoring his blood; and the queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and fo unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a sincere repentance of their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome;

^{*} Mem. of Cranm. p. 344. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 154, 155. 1 Burnet, vol. ii. p. 291. Strype, vol. iii. p. 155.

CHAP. and praying their majesties, that fince they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects ". The request was easily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the The pope, then Julius III. being informed of these transactions, said that it was an unexampled instance of his felicity to receive thanks from the English for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing ".

> NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme zeal of those times for and against popery, the object always uppermost with the nobility and gentry was their money and estates: They were not brought to make these concessions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated affurances, from the pope as well as the queen, that the plunder which they had made on the ecclefiaftics should never be inquired into; and that the abbey and church lands should remain with the prefent possessors. But not trusting altogether to these promises, the parliament took care in the law itself p, by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, to infert a clause, in which, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schifm, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave fecurity to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclefiaftical centures. The convocation also, in order to remove apprehenfions on that head, were induced to prefent a petition to the same purpose q; and the legate, in his master's name, ratified all these transactions.

m Fox, vol. iii. p. 3. Heylin, p. 42. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 293. n Father Paul, lib. iv. o Heylin, p. 41. Godwin, p. 247. P 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. 4 Heylin, p. 43. 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. Strype, vol. iii, p. 159.

It now appeared that, notwithstanding the efforts of CHAP. the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed in England, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment. For though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was for the present restored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably loft, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even thefe arbitrary, powerful, and bigoted princes, while the transactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her possessions so lately ravished from her; and no expedients were left to the clergy for enriching themselves, but those which they had at first practifed, and which had required many ages of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition, to produce their effect on mankind.

THE parliament having fecured their own poffeffions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even to the lives of their fellow-citizens: They revived the old fanguinary laws against heretics. which had been rejected in the former parliament: They also enacted several statutes against feditious words and rumours'; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen v. Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a step farther than their predecessors; but none of them had entirely loft all regard to national interests. Their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared prefumptive heir of the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not fo much as procure the parliament's confent to his coronation ". All attempts likewife to obtain subsidies from the com-

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^{*} See note [R] at the end of the volume.

* 1 & 2 Phil.

* Mar. c. 6.

* Ibid. c. 3. 9.

* Ibid. c. 10.

W Godwin, p. 348, Baker, p. 322.

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CHAP. mons, in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless: The usual animofity and jealoufy of the English against that kingdom feemed to have given place for the prefent to like passions against Spain. Philip, sensible of the prepossessions entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; lord Henry Dudley, fir George Harper, fir Nicholas Throgmorton, fir Edmond Warner, fir William St. Lo, fir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the fuspicions or refentment of the But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the fpite and malice of the queen, and refloring her This measure was not the effect of any to liberty. generofity in Philip, a fentiment of which he was wholly destitute; but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots. whose fuccession would for ever annex England to The earl of Devonshire also the crown of France. reaped some benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: But that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travely; and he soon after died at Padua, from poison, as is pretended, given him by the Imperialists. He was the eleventh and last earl of Devonshire of that noble family, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

THE queen's extreme defire of having iffue, had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, the fancied that the felt the embryo ftir in her womb z. Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptist, who leaped

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[.] x Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 287. Stowe, p. 625. y Heylin, p. 40. Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 146, 147. 2 Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 25. Godwin, p. 349.

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in his mother's belly at the falutation of the Virgin . CHAP. Dispatches were immediately sent to inform foreign courts of this event: Orders were issued to give public thanks: Great rejoicings were made: The family of the young prince was already fettled b; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: And Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers be faid, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation still remained fomewhat incredulous: and men were perfuaded that the queen laboured under infirmities which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropfy, which the difordered state of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, which in case of the queen's demife, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster and dissolved them.

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THERE happened an incident this fession which 16th Jan. must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, distatisfied with the meafures of the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a fecession in order to show their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend the house'. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the king's-bench after the diffolution of parliament: Six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: The rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an iffue. Judging of the

^a Burnet, vol. ii. p. 292. Godwin, p. 348. c Coke's Institutes, part iv. p. 17. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 165.

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CHAP. matter by the subsequent claims of the house of commons, and, indeed, by the true principles of free government, this attempt of the queen's minifters must be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at the time, and was never called in question by any house of commons which afterwards fat during this reign. The count of Noailles, the French ambaffador, fays, that the queen threw feveral members into prison for their freedom of speech d.

d Vol. v. p. 296.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Reasons for and against toleration—Persecutions -A parliament—The queen's extortions— The emperor resigns his crown-Execution of Cranmer—War with France—Battle of St. Quintin—Calais taken by the French—Affairs of Scotland-Marriage of the Dauphin and the queen of Scots --- A parliament --- Death of the queen.

THE fuccess which Gardiner, from his cautious CHAP. and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and in the reestablishment of the ancient religion, two points to which it was believed they bore an extreme averfion, had fo raifed his character for wifdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer fuffered any opposition or controll. Cardinal Pole himself, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and though superior in birth and station, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely refpected, he was represented more as a good man than a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated before the queen and council by these two ecclesiastics; whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to restrain by terror the bold attempts of these zealots? Pole was very fincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be suspected at Rome of Dd 3

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CHAP. a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously perfuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with fuch important interests. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaifance to Henry, he had shewn that had he not been pushed to extremity under the late minority, he was fufficiently disposed to make a facrifice of his principles to the established theology. This was the wellknown character of these two great counsellors; vet fuch is the prevalence of temper above fystem, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the fevere manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by perfecution that religion which at the bottom he regarded with great indifference. This circumstance of public conduct was of the highest importance; and from being the object of deliberation in the council, it foon became the subject of discourse throughout the nation. shall relate, in a few words, the topics by which each fide supported, or might have supported, their scheme of policy; and shall display the opposite reasons, which have been employed with regard to an argument that ever has been and ever will be fo much canvaffed.

Reafons for and against toleration.

THE practice of perfecution, faid the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the scandal of all religion; and the theological animofity, fo fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposite sects, is a certain proof that they have never reached any ferious perfuafion with regard to these remote and sublime subjects. Even those who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of

Deserburg mymron c Heylin, p. 47.

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polemical divines; and wherever a man's know- CHAP. ledge and experience give him a perfect affurance in his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others. But while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend nor entirely believe, they are shaken in their imagined faith by the opposite perfuafion, or even doubts, of other men; and vent on their antagonists that impatience which is the natural refult of fo difagreeable a state of the understanding. They then eafily embrace any pretence for representing opponents as impious and profane; and if they can also find a colour for connecting this violence with the interests of civil government, they can no longer be restrained from giving uncontrolled fcope to vengeance and refentment. But furely never enterprise was more unfortunate than that of founding perfecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the fake of peace, to fettle an entire uniformity of opinion in questions which of all others are least subjected to the criterion of human reason. The univerfal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious subjects can be owing at first to the stupid ignorance alone and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or inquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity, fo fondly fought after, but by banishing for ever all curiosity and all improvement in science and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a steady severity, the first beginnings of controversy; but befides that this policy exposes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of fuperstition, and the magistrate to the endless encroachments of ecclesiastics, it also renders men so delicate that they can never endure to hear of opposition; and they will sometime pay dearly for that false tranquillity in which As healthful they have been fo long indulged. bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are Dd4

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C H A P. thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people who never were allowed to imagine that their principles could be contested, fly out into the most outrageous violence when any event (and fuch events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives rife to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be faid in favour of suppressing, by perfecution, the first beginnings of herefy, no folid argument can be alleged for extending feverity towards multitudes, or endeavouring by capital punishments to extirpate an opinion which has diffused itself among men of every rank and station. Besides the extreme barbarity of such an attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual to the purpose intended; and ferves only to make men more obstinate in their persuasion, and to increase the number of their profelytes. The melancholy with which the fear of death, torture, and perfecution inspires the fectaries, is the proper disposition for fostering religious zeal: The prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal punishments: The glory of martyrdom stimulates all the more furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers: Where a violent animofity is excited by oppression, men naturally pass from hating the persons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines: And the spectators, moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs, are easily feduced to embrace those principles which can infpire men with a constancy that appears almost supernatural. Open the door to toleration, mutual hatred relaxes among the sectaries; their attachment to their particular modes of religion decays; the common occupations and pleasures of life succeed to the acrimony of disputation; and the same man who in other circumstances would have braved flames and tortures, is induced to change his feet from the smallest prospect of favour and advancement.

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ment, or even from the frivolous hope of becoming C HAP. more fashionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowife connected with the ancient religion of the state. is imported from foreign countries, and may eafily at one blow be eradicated, without leaving the feeds of future innovation. But as this exception would imply fome apology for the ancient pagan perfecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought furely, on account of this detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal filence and oblivion.

Though these arguments appear entirely satisfactory, yet fuch is the fubtilty of human wit, that Gardiner and the other enemies to toleration were not reduced to filence; and they still found topics on which to maintain the controversy. The doctrine, faid they, of liberty of conscience, is founded on the most flagrant impiety, and supposes such an indifference among all religions, fuch an obscurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magistrate incapable of distinguishing with certainty the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will furely give a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poison under the shape of food to all his subjects. Persecution may, indeed, feem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrify often turn into reality; and the children, at least, ignorant of the diffimulation of their parents, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is abfurd, in opposition to considerations of such unspeakable im-

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CHAP, portance, to plead the temporal and frivolous in-XXXVII. terests of civil society; and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear fo univerfally certain in favour of toleration as by some it is represented. Where fects arise, whose fundamental principle on all fides is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other; what choice has the magistrate left, but to take part, and by rendering one fect entirely prevalent, restore, at least for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here fickly, must not be treated as if it were in a state of found health; and an effectual neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may ferve only to encourage the hopes of all the fects, and keep alive their animofity. The protellants, far from tolerating the religion of their ancestors, regard it as an impious and detestable idolatry; and during the late minority, when they were entirely mafters, they enacted very fevere though not capital punishments against all exercise of the catholic worship, and even against such as barely abstained from their profane rites and facraments. Nor are instances wanting of their endeayours to fecure an imagined orthodoxy by the most rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptists to the stake: And if persecution of any kind be admitted, the most bloody and violent will furely be allowed the most justifiable, as the most effectual. Imprisonments, fines, confiscations, whippings, ferve only to irritate the fects, without difabling them from refistance: But the stake, the wheel, and the gibbet, must foon terminate in the extirpation or banishment of all the heretics inclined to give disturbance, and in the entire silence and fubmiffion of the rest.

> THE arguments of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better

better received; and though Pole pleaded, as is CHAP. affirmed'e, the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law not to exercise violence against the protestants, and defired her to confider his own example, who, after endeavouring through his whole life to extirpate herefy, had in the end reaped nothing but confusion and disappointment, the scheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let loofe the laws in their full vigour against the reformed religion; and England was foon filled with fcenes of horror, which have ever fince rendered the catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion.

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THE perfecutions began with Rogers, prebendary Violent of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue perfecuas well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was first to tions in England. attack men of that character, whom he hoped terror would bend to fubmission, and whose example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: But he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may feem strange to find in human nature, and of which all ages and all fects do nevertheless furnish many examples. Rogers, befide the care of his own prefervation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his ferenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is faid, waked him from a found fleep when the hour of his execution approached. He had defired to fee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was

Burnet, vol. ii. Heylin, p. 47. It is not likely, however, that Charles gave any fuch advice: For he himfelf was at this very time proceeding with great violence in perfecuting the reformed in Flanders. Bentivoglio, part i. lib. 1.

CHAP. a priest, and could not possibly have a wife; thus XXXVII. joining infult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield'.

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HOOPER, bishop of Glocester, had been tried at the fame time with Rogers; but was fent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a fource of confolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving testimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was fet before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation: But he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was fentenced. He fuffered it in its full feverity: The wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: The faggots were green, and did not kindle eafily: All his lower parts were confumed before his vitals were attacked: One of his hands dropped off: With the other he continued to beat his breast: He was heard to pray and to exhort the people; till his tongue, fwoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy?.

SANDERS was burned at Coventry: A pardon was also offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome the cross of "Christ! welcome everlasting life!" Taylor, parson of Hadley, was punished by fire in that place, surrounded by his ancient friends and parishioners. When tied to the stake, he rehearsed a psalm in English: One of his guards struck him in the

f Fox, vol. iii. p. 119. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302.

Fox, vol. iii. p. 145, &c. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302. Heylin, p. 48, 49. Godwin, p. 349.

mouth, and bade him speak Latin: Another, in a CHAP.

which happily put an end to his torments.

THERE was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchefter, inflamed with fuch zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arian, he fpit in his adversary's face to shew the great detestation which he had entertained against that herefy. He afterwards wrote a treatife to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal: He said, that he was led to it in order to relieve the forrow conceived from fuch horrid blasphemy, and to signify how unworthy fuch a miscreant was of being admitted into the fociety of any Christian h. Philpot was a protestant; and falling now into the hands of people as zealous as himself, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and fuffered at Smithfield. It feems to be almost a general rule, that in all religions except the true, no man will fuffer martyrdom who would not also inslict it willingly on all that differ from him. The fame zeal for speculative opinions is the cause of both.

The crime for which almost all the protestants were condemned was, their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: He tore out the beard of a weaver who resused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a speci-

h Strype, vol. iii. p. 261. and Coll. No 58.

i Heylin, p. 47, 48.

CHAP men of burning, he held his hand to the candle till XXXVII. the finews and veins fhrunk and burst.

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It is needless to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practifed in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: The savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occasion, so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in solly. A few instances only may be worth preserving, in order, if possible, to warn zealous bigots for ever to avoid such odious and such fruitless barbarity.

FERRAR, bishop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocese; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to . Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same slames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; " we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, " as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." The executioners had been fo merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be afcribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about these prelates, in order to put a speedy period to their tortures: The explosion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age; Ridley continued alive during some time in the midst of the flames m.

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k Fox, vol. iii. p. 187.

One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been feduced by a priest into a dispute, had unwarily denied the real presence. Sensible of his danger, he immediately absconded; but Bonner laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greatest severities if he did not produce the young man to stand his trial. Hunter hearing of the vexations to which his father was exposed, voluntarily surrendered himself to Bonner, and was condemned to the slames by that barbarous presate.

THOMAS Haukes, when conducted to the stake, agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a signal to that purpose in the midst of the slames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered so supported him that he stretched out his arms, the signal agreed on; and in that posture he expired. This example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire

THE tender fex itself, as they have commonly

greater propensity to religion, produced many examples of the most inflexible courage in supporting the profession of it against all the sury of the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances which, even at that time, excited astonishment by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the slames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the sire, and attempted to save it: But a magistrate who stood by ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he said, that no-

thing should survive which sprang from so obstinate

¹ Fox, vol. iii. p. 265. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 337.

and heretical a parent m.

to martyrdom.

m Ibid. p. 747. Heylin, p. 57.

THE

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatifing, contrary to the established religion: They were feized merely on fuspicion; and articles being offered them to fubscribe, they were immediately upon their refusal condemned to the flames. These instances of barbarity, fo unufual in the nation, excited horror; the constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honour, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more fevere than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subversive of civil society. To exterminate the whole protestant party was known to be impossible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to fubject to torture the most conscientious and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred fermons against popery; and men either avoided fuch horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though fecret, indignation against the perfecutors. Repeated orders were fent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magistrates in searching out heretics; and in some places the gentry were constrained to countenance by their presence those barbarous executions. These acts of violence tended only to render the Spanish government daily more odious; and Philip, sensible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice: He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine somewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spanish friar. But the court finding that Bonner, however shameless and

Burnet, vol. ii. p. 306.

[·] Heylin, p. 56.

favage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, foon CHAP. threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without control. A bold step was even taken towards introducing the inquisition into England. As the bishops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate herefy. Twentyone persons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commission runs in these terms: " That fince many false ru-" mours were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among them, the commissioners were to inquire into "those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or 46 any other political way they could devise, and to " fearch after all herefies; the bringers in, the " fellers, the readers of all heretical books: They " were to examine and punish all misbehaviours or " negligences in any church or chapel; and to try " all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish church to service, that would not go in processions, or did not take holy bread or " holy water: And if they found any that did obsti-" nately perfift in fuch herefies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be or punished according to the spiritual laws: Giving " the commissioners full power to proceed as their discretions and consciences should direct them, " and to use all such means as they would invent " for the fearthing of the premises; empowering "them also to call before them such witnesses as they " pleased, and to force them to make oath of such " things as might discover what they fought after "."

P Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 32.

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C H A P. Some civil powers were also given the commissioners XXXVII. to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to lord North, and others, enjoining them, "To put to the torture fuch obstinate persons as would not confess, and there to order them at " their discretion "." Secret spies also and informers were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of peace, " That they should call secretly 66 before them one or two honest persons within " their limits, or more at their discretion, and com-" mand them by oath, or otherwise, that they shall fecretly learn and fearch out fuch persons as shall " evil-behave themselves in church, or idly, or " thall despife openly by words, the king's or " queen's proceedings, or go about to make any " commotion, or tell any feditious tales or news. "And also that the same persons so to be appointed " shall declare to the same justices of peace the ill " behaviour of lewd difordered persons, whether it " shall be for using unlawful games, and such other " light behaviour of fuch fuspected persons: And " that the fame information shall be given secretly " to the justices; and the same justices shall call " fuch accused persons before them, and examine "them, without declaring by whom they were ac-" cufed. And that the fame justices shall, upon " their examination, punish the offenders, according as their offences shall appear, upon the accusement and examination, by their discretion, " either by open punishment or by good abearing "." In fome respects, this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisition; by introducing, into every part of government, the same iniquities which that tribunal practifes for the extirpation of

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⁹ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243.

r Ibid. p. 246, 247.

herefy only, and which are in fome measure neces- CHAP.

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fary wherever that end is earneftly purfued.

But the court had devised a more expeditious and summary method of supporting orthodoxy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition; and declared, "That whosever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or shewing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any farther delay be executed by martial law." From the state of the English government during that period, it is not so much the illegality of these proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our censure.

WE have thrown together almost all the proceedings against heretics, though carried on during a course of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and feventy-feven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twentyone clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradefmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practifed in other countries. A great author computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable. Yet in both countries, as the same

Burnet, vol. ii. p. 363. Heylin, p. 79. Father Paul, lib. 5. E e 2 author

1555-

C H A P. author subjoins, the progress of the new opinions. XXXVII. instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by

thefe perfecutions.

THE burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish communion; and little folicitation was requifite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock, from which he reaped fuch confiderable profit: Yet was there a folemn embaffy fent to Rome, confifting of fir Anthony Brown, created viscount Montacute, the bishop of Elv, and fir Edward Carne; in order to carry the fubmissions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church ". Paul IV. after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff that during several ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended that Mary still retained among her titles that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he faw cause, either to erect new kingdoms, or abolish the old: But to avoid all dispute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been assumed from his concession. This was a usual artifice of the popes, to give allowance to what they could not prevent w, and afterwards pretend that princes, while they exercised their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And though Paul had at first intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title before he would bestow it upon her; he found it prudent to proceed in a less haughty manner *.

Another point in discussion between the pope and the English ambassadors was not so easily terminated. Paul infifted, that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the uttermost far-

Father Paul, lib. 5.

u Heylin, p. 45. W Ibid. Father Paul, lib. 5.

1555.

thing: That whatever belonged to God could never CHAP. by any law be converted to profane uses, and every person who detained such possessions was in a state of eternal damnation: That he would willingly, in confideration of the humble submissions of the English, make them a prefent of these ecclesiastical revenues; but fuch a concession exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that fo great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blaft all their future felicity: That if they would truly flew their filial piety, they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romish church, and Peter's pence among the rest; nor could they expect that this apostle would open to them the gates of paradife, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth. These earnest remonstrances being transmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen; who was determined, in order to ease her conscience, to restore all the church lands which were still in the possession of the crown: And the more to display her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the low condition of the exchequer z. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, that if fuch a confiderable part of the revenue were difmembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that she preferred the falvation of her foul to ten fuch kingdoms as England a. Thefe imprudent measures would not probably have taken place fo eafily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: The great feal was given to Heathe, archbishop of York; that an ecclesiastic might still be possessed of that high office, and be better enabled

y Father Paul, lib. 5. Heylin, p. 45.

² Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 312.

⁴ Heylin, p. 53, 65. Hollingshed, p. 1127. Speed, p 826.

XXXVII.

1555. 21st Oct. A parliament.

9th Dec.

CHAP. by his authority to forward the perfecutions against the reformed.

> These perfecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament summoned to meet at Westminster b. A bill c was passed, restoring to the church the tenths and first-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herfelf, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a fubfidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members faid, that while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenue, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating fuch as were remiss in the profecution of herefy from being justices of peace. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

> THE spirit of opposition which began to prevail in parliament was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as the was otherwife in very bad humour on account of her husband's absence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealoufy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over last summer to the emperor in Flanders. indifference and neglect of Philip, added to the difappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and she gave yent to her fpleen, by daily enforcing the perfecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage

> against all her subjects; by whom she knew herself

b Burnet, vol. ii. p. 322.

c 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. cap. 4.

to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an CHAP. entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from 1555. her, and afforded her so little of his company d. The less return her love met with, the more it increafed; and she passed most of her time in solitude,

where she gave vent to her passion, either in tears, or in writing fond epiftles to Philip, who feldom returned her any answer, and scarcely deigned to pretend any fentiment of love or even of gratitude

towards her.

The chief part of government to The

which she attended was the extorting of money from extortiher people, in order to fatisfy his demands; and as ons. the parliament had granted her but a fcanty fupply, fhe had recourse to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of 60,000 pounds upon a thousand persons, of whose compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, she held herfelf best affured: But that sum not sufficing, fhe exacted a general loan on every one who poffeffed twenty pounds a-year. This imposition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged many of them to retrench their expences, and difmifs their fervants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: And as these servants, accustomed to idlenefs, and having no means of subfiftence, commonly betook themselves to theft and robbery, the queen published a proclamation, by which she obliged their former masters to take them back to their fervice. She levied 60,000 marks on 7000 yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and she exacted 36,000 pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage some Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting for four months the exporting of any English cloth or kersey to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a

d Depeches de Noailles, vol. v. p. 370. 562.

C H A P. XXXVII. good market for fuch as had already fent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapacioulness engaged her to give endless disturbance and interruption to commerce. The English company settled in Antwerp having refused her a loan of 40,000 pounds, she diffembled her refentment till she found that they had bought and shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: She then laid an embargo on the ships, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 pounds at first demanded, to engage for the payment of 20,000 pounds more at a limited time, and to submit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece. Some time after the was informed, that the Italian merchants had shipped above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown a-piece, the usual imposition: She struck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the English merchants, in consideration of this iniquity, the fum of 50,000 pounds, and an imposition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they should export. She attempted to borrow great fums abroad; but her credit was fo low, that though she offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 30,000 pounds, she could not obtain it, till the compelled the city of London to be furety for All these violent expedients were employed, while she herself was in profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no occasion for money but to fupply the demands of a husband, who gave attention only to his own convenience, and showed himself entirely indifferent about her interests.

The emperor iefigns his crown. PHILIP was now become master of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most ex-

tenfive

Godwin, p. 359. Cowper's Chronicle. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 359. Carte, p. 330, 333, 337, 341. Strype's Memor. vol. iii. p. 428, 558. Annals, vol. i. p. 75.

tensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary re- CH fignation of the emperor Charles V. who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a difgust to the world, and was determined to feek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness which he had in vain purfued amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He summoned the asthon states of the Low Countries; and, feating himself on the throne for the last time, explained to his fubjects the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and, devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burden which he imposed upon him . He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the study of his people's happines; and represented how much preferable it was to govern by affection rather than by fear the nations subjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he found that the vain schemes of extending his empire had been the fource of endless opposition and disappointment, and kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects, in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the fole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care; an object which meets with less opposition, and which, if steadily purfued, can alone convey a lasting and folid fatisfaction.

A FEW months after he refigned to Philip his other dominions; and, embarking on board a fleet, failed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estremadura, which, being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos he found, by the thinness of his court, and the negligent attendance of the

1556.

CHAP: Spanish grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and though this observation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily despise what he had renounced, he sighed to find that all former adulation and obeifance had been paid to his fortune, not to his person. better reason was he struck with the ingratitude of his fon Philip, who obliged him to wait a long time for the payment of the small pension which he had referved; and this disappointment in his domestic enjoyments gave him a fensible concern. He purfued, however, his resolution with inflexible constancy; and, shutting himself up in his retreat, he exerted fuch felf-command, that he restrained even his curiofity from any inquiry concerning the tranfactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing against the pains and infirmities under which he laboured occupied a great part of his time; and during the intervals he employed his leifure either in examining the controversies of theology, with which his age had been fo much agitated, and which he had hitherto confidered only in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artists, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is faid to have here discovered a propensity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his fentiments. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was in which he had so much employed himself during his grandeur; and how impossible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the fame belief and opinion. He furvived his retreat two years.

THE emperor Charles had very early in the beginning of his reign found the difficulty of governing fuch distant dominions; and he had made his bro-

ther

1556.

ther Ferdinand be elected king of the Romans; with CHAP. a view to his inheriting the Imperial dignity, as well as his German dominions. But having afterwards enlarged his schemes, and formed plans of aggrandifing his family, he regretted that he must difmember fuch confiderable states; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers, and most earnest solicitations, to yield up his pretensions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitlefs, he had refigned the Imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refused the demand; and pretended, that though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet, in the cafe of a refignation, the right devolved to the holy fee, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was in every thing conformable to these lofty pretensions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambaffadors, that he flood in no need of the affiftance of any prince; that he was above all potentates of the earth; that he would not accustom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him; that it belonged to him to alter and regulate kingdoms; that he was fucceflor of those who had deposed kings and emperors; and that, rather than fubmit to any thing below his dignity, he would fet fire to the four corners of the world. He went fo far, as at table, in the presence of many persons, and even openly, in a public confiftory, to fay, that he would not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his fubjects, and he would hold them under these feet: So saying, he stamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs; For he was now past fourscore years of age .

THE world could not forbear making a comparison between Charles V. a prince who, though educated amidst wars and intrigues of state, had prevented the

e Father Paul, lib, v.

decline



decline of age, and had descended from the throne. in order to fet apart an interval for thought and reflection, and a priest who, in the extremity of old age, exulted in his dominion, and, from reftless ambition and revenge, was throwing all nations into combustion. Paul had entertained the most inveterate animofity against the house of Austria; and though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry, by his folicitations, to break it, and promifed to affift him in recovering Naples, and the dominions to which he laid claim in Italy; a project which had ever proved hurtful to the predecessors of that monarch. He himself engaged in hostilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and Guise being sent with forces to support him, the renewal of war between the two crowns feemed almost inevitable. Philip. though less warlike than his father, was no less ambitious; and he trusted, that by the intrigues of the cabinet, where he believed his caution and fecrecy and prudence gave him the superiority, he should be able to subdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For this reason, as well as from the defire of fettling his new empire, he wished to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that without facrificing his honour it was impossible for him to overlook the hoftile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great industry. In order to give himself the more advantage, he was defirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was of herfelf extremely averse to that measure, he hoped that the devoted fondness which, notwithstanding repeated instances of his indifference, the still bore to him, would effectually fecond his applications. Had the matter indeed depended folely on her, the was incapable of refifting her hufband's commands; but she had little weight with her council, still less with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming more odious,

odious, feemed unable to maintain itself even during C H A P. the most profound tranquillity, much more if a war were kindled with France, and what feemed an inevitable confequence, with Scotland, supported by

that powerful kingdom.

An act of barbarity was this year exercised in Execution England, which, added to many other instances of of Cranthe fame kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and, in order the more fully to fatiate her vengeance, the resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome: and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were fent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which fuited his favage nature. The implacable spirit of the queen, not fatisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer. which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful fentence to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of difputation, against which he was sufficiently armed; but by flattery, infinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity 8. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the fentiments of nature to pre-

g Heylin, p. 55. Mem. p. 383. f Mem. of Craum. p. 375. vail

CHAP, vail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe 1556.

XXXVII. the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they fent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should March 21. thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a fecret intimation of their defign, or had repented of his weakness, surprised the audience by a contrary declaration. He faid, that he was well apprifed of the obedience which he owed to his fovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without refistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him: That a fuperior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to fpeak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: That there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he feverely repented; the infincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to confent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: That he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a fincere and open recantation; and was willing to feal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven: And that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a fevere but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the catholics; and, having now fummoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their fcorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with fingular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least fign of weakness,

1556.

or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was CHAP. entirely confumed. His thoughts feemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud feveral times, This hand has offended. Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a ferenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he feemed to be quite infensible of his outward fufferings, and, by the force of hope and refolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that, after his body was confumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; possessed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, fincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and His moral qualities procured amiable in fociety. him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility

AFTER Cranmer's death cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury; and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But though he was averse to all fanguinary methods of converting heretics, and deemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpose; he found his authority too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigoted disposition of the queen and of her counfellors. He himfelf, he knew, had been suspected of Lutheranism; and as

observed in many, made him the hero of the pro-

4 Burnet, vol. ii. p. 324, 325.

testant party h.

h Burnet, vol. ii. p. 331, 332, &c. Godwin, p. 352.

\$556.

C HAP. Paul, the reigning pope, was a furious perfecutor, and his personal enemy, he was prompted, by the modelty of his disposition, to reserve his credit for other occasions, in which he had a greater proba-

bility of fuccess !

\$557-

THE great object of the queen was to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with many other counfellors, openly and zealoufly opposed this meafure. Besides insisting on the marriage articles, which provided against such an attempt, they represented the violence of the domestic factions in England, and the disordered state of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all these measures was to reduce the kingdom to a total de-pendence on Spanish counsels. Philip had come to London in order to support his partisans; and he told the queen, that if he were not gratified in so reasonable a request, he never more would set This declaration extremely foot in England. heightened her zeal for promoting his interests, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, the threatened to dismiss all of them, and to appoint counsellors more obsequious; yet could she not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At length, one Stafford and some other conspirators were detected in a defign of furprifing Scarborough 1; and a confession being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hostility, with others of a like fecret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared against France; and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom. Roll, Success of to

k Heylin, p. 68, 69. Burnet, vol. il. p. 327.

Heylin, p. 72. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 351. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.

THE revenue of England at that time little ex- CHAP. ceeded 300,000 pounds ". Any confiderable fupplies could scarcely be expected from parliament, confidering the prefent disposition of the nation; and as the war would fensibly diminish that branch arifing from the customs, the finances, it was forefeen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of government; and must still prove more unequal to the expences of war. But though the queen owed great arrears to all her fervants, befides the loans extorted from her subjects, these considerations had no influence with her; and, in order to support her warlike preparations, the continued to levy money in the fame arbitrary and violent manner which the had formerly practifed. She obliged the city of London to supply her with 60,000 pounds on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the fecond year's fubfidy voted by parliament; she issued anew many privy seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual by reason of the dearness of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, affisted by the power of preffing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any difturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and left they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed: They either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them ".

Rossi, Successi d'Inghilterra.

a Stry pe's Eccles. Memorials, vol. iii. p. 377.

CHAP.

THE king of Spain had affembled an army which. after the junction of the English, amounted to above fixty thousand men, conducted by Philibert duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. The constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppole to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Mariembourgh and Rocroy, fuddenly fat down before St. Quintin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided with a garrison, he expected in a few days to become mafter of it. But admiral Coligny, goyernor of the province, thinking his honour interested to save so important a fortress, threw himfelf into St. Quintin, with some troops of French and Scottish gensdarmery; and by his exhortations and example animated the foldiers to a vigorous defence. He dispatched a messenger to his uncle toth Aug. Montmorency, defiring a supply of men; and the constable approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of these succours. But the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did fuch execution upon them, that not above Battle of five hundred got into the place. He next made an St. Quin- attack on the French army, and put them to total rout, killing four thousand men, and dispersing the remainder. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners: Among the latter was the old constable himself, who, fighting valiantly, and resolute to die rather than furvive his defeat, was furrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation: Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry: And had the Spaniards prefently marched thither, it could not have failed to fall into their But Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined first to take St. Quintin, in order to fecure a communication with his own dominions. A very

DEVERAL

1557.

very little time, it was expected, would finish this CHAP. enterprise; but the bravery of Coligny still prolonged the fiege feventeen days, which proved the fafety of France. Some troops were levied and affembled. Couriers were fent to recal the duke of Guise and his army from Italy: And the French, having recovered from their first panic, put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Catelet, found the feafon fo far advanced, that he could attempt no other enterprise: He broke up his camp, and retired to winter-quarters.

Bur the vigilant activity of Guise, not satisfied with fecuring the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to plan an enterprise, which France during her greatest successes had always regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was in that age deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be fuccoured, the recovery of that place by France was confidered as totally desperate. But Coligny had Calais remarked, that as the town of Calais was furrounded taken by with marshes, which during the winter were im- French. passable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recal them in the fpring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he had founded the defign of making a sudden attack on Calais; he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprise being found among his papers, it ferved, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the duke of Guife.

15582

CHAP. SEVERAL bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being fuddenly affembled, formed an army, with which Guife made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the same time a great number of French ships, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruifing on the English, composed a fleet which made an attack by fea on the fortifications. The French affaulted St. Agatha with three thousand harquebusiers; and the garrison, though they made a vigorous defence, were foon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnam bridge. The flege of this latter place was immediately undertaken. and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank. which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and both thele castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garrifon was inclosed in the castle of Newnam bridge and the rifbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which without their affiftance he was utterly unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam bridge was fo happy as to effect this purpose; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to furrender by expences, and burnhead with debinoispitors

13 THE duke of Guife, now holding Calais blockaded by fea and land, thought himfelf fecure of fucceeding in his enterprife, but in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the foffee, he commanded an affault, which fucceeded; and the French made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon e Thuam lib, xx. cap. xe

Affin of

1538.

it, he found his garrison to weak, that he was CHAP. obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guifnes fell foon XXXVII. after; and thus the duke of Guife in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself mafter of this strong fortress, that had cost Edward III. a fiege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been victorious in the battle of Creffy. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an eafy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guise, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be funk by the unfortuhate battle of St. Quintin, had, in opposition to the English, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired possession of a place which no former king of France. even during the distractions of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had ever ventured to attempt. The English, on the other hands bereaved of this valuable fortress, murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitless war, for the fake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to fo fevere a difgrace. A treasury exhausted by expences, and burthened with debts; a people divided and dejected; a fovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumstances which, notwithstanding the fair offers and promifes of Philip. gave them fmall hopes of recovering Calais. And as the Scots, infligated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now necessitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conquests. He as behammon and

AFTER the peace which, in confequence of king Affairs of Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland.

Scotland and England, the queen-dowager, on premen in a furious attack which he made upon.

o Thuan. lib. xx. cap. 2.

CHAP, tence of vifiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and the carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marifchal, and many of the principal nobility. Her fecret design was, to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to relign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers, the duke of Guife, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Aumale, had uncontrolled influence in the court of France, the eafily perfuaded Henry, and by his authority the Scottish nobles, to enter into her meafures. Having also gained Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, the perfuaded him, by their means, to confent to this refignation p; and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpose, she took a journey to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great respect and civility; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter: A marriage, he faid, fo happily calculated for the tranquillity, interest, and security of both kingdoms, and the only means of enfuring a durable peace between them. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other husband whom she should choose; nor was it eafy for him to forgive a man who, at the fame time that he disappointed so natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride to whom his affections, from his earliest infancy, had been entirely engaged. The queen-dowager eluded these applications, by telling him, that if any measures had been taken difagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerfet, who, instead. of employing courtefy, careffes, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princels, Atta April 1554s

P Buchanan, lib. xiv. Keith, p. 16. Spotswood, p. 92. 21

had had recourse to arms and violence, and had con- CHAP. strained the Scottish nobility to send their fovereign into France, in order to interest that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence 4.

1558.

WHEN the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, the found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was not till after many delaysthat he could be perfuaded to refign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princels was approaching, and that the queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to submit; and having stipulated that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and should be freed from giving any account of his past administration, he placed her in possession of the power; and she thenceforth assumed the name of regent. It was a usual faying of this princess, that provided she could render her friends happy, and could enfure to herfelf a good reputation, the was entirely indifferent what befel her; and though this fentiment is greatly cenfured by the zealous reformers', as being founded wholly on fecular motives, it discovers a mind well calculated for the government of kingdoms. D'Oifel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambaffador from Henry, but in reality to affift her with his counfels in fo delicate an undertaking as the administration of Scotland; and this man had formed a scheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to support a standing military force, which might at once repel the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottish nobles. But though some of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general discontent to the nation; and the queen-regent, after ingenuoully confessing that it would prove pernicious to the

^{1 12} April 1554. * Knox, p. 89. 4 Keith, p. 59. mobgaiking bow xiv. K. K. f. T. Spottwood, p. 92 ban

XXXVII. 1358,

C H A P. kingdom, had prudence to defift from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the good-will and affections of her subjects that saw is bas , visit

This laudable purpose seemed to be the chief object of her administration; yet was the fometimes drawn from it by her connexions with France, and by the influence which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary commenced hostilities against that kingdom, Henry required the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and fhe fummoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of French, as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their affent; and the queen was obliged to have recourse to stratagem, in order to effect her purpose. She ordered d'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been difmantled by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrifon of Berwic, as the forefaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, the effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scottish nation, and to engage them in hostilities against England ". The enterprises, however, of the Scots proceeded no farther than some inroads on the borders: When d'Oisel, of himself, conducted artillery and troops to befrege the castle of Werke, he was recalled, and harply rebuked by the council w. has salst add

Marriage about order to connect Scotland more closely with of the dau- France, and to increase the influence of the latter the queen kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celeof Scots. brate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was fent by the Scottish parliament to affift at the ceremony, and to fettle the terms of the contract. we soulig a diddelle or

- 136 aid t Keith, p. 70. Buchanan, lib. xvi. Will lim bed 194
- on Buchanan, lib. xvi. Thuan. lib. xix. c. 7.
- rebon and knox, p. 93. at street but thellerges yelge

fuccef.

3HT our of the power there granted might alter the

THE close alliance between France and Scotland C H A P. threatened very nearly the repose and security of XXXVII. Mary; and it was foreseen, that though the factions and diforders which might naturally be expected in the Scottish government, during the absence of the fovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, 20th Jan. found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. And as fuch an emergency usually gives A parliagreat advantage to the people, and as the parlia- ment. ments during this reign had shewn, that where the liberty and independency of the kingdom was menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court; we shall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money should at least be censured, and, perhaps, some remedy be for the future provided against them. The commons, however, without making any reflections on the past, voted, besides a fifteenth, a fubfidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable, as was alfo the subsidy of the laity, in four years by equal d'Oifel, of himfelf, conducted actillers and anoirrog

THE parliament also passed an act, confirming all the fales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or should be made against during the feven enfuing years no It was eafy to fore- bus nide fee, that in Mary's present disposition and situation, assuped this power would be followed by a great alienation along to of the royal demelnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than to establish a prince with very extensive authority, vet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the house of commons. One Copley expressed his fears lest the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the

1338.

fucces-

C.H.A.P. fuccession, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir: But his words were thought irreverent to her majesty: He was committed to the custody of the ferjeant at arms; and though he expressed forrow for his offence, he was not released till the queen

was applied to for his pardon.

THE English nation, during this whole reign, were under great apprehensions with regard not only to the fuccession, but the life of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which the queen bore to her broke out on every occasion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prud dence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princess retired into the country; and knowing that she was furrounded with spies, she passed her time wholly in reading and study, intermeddled in no business, and faw very little company. While she remained in this fituation, which for the prefent was melancholy, but which prepared her mind for those great actions, by which her life was afterwards fo much distinguished; proposals of marriage were made to her by the Swedish ambassador in his master's name. As her first question was, Whether the queen had been informed of these proposals? the ambassador told her, that his mafter thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty first to make his addresses to herfelf; and having obtained her confent, he would next, as a king, apply to her fifter. But the princess would allow him to proceed no farther; and the queen, after thanking her for this instance of duty, defired to know how she stood affected to the Swedish proposals. Elizabeth, though exposed to many prefent dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to referve herfelf for better fortune; and she covered her refusal with professions of a passionate attachment to a fingle life, which, she faid, she infinitely preferred before any other y. The princess

Burnet, vol. ii. Collect. Nº 37.

desiruot

showed like prudence in concealing her sentiments of c HAT religion, in complying with the present modes of XXXVII. worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to lericant at atms; and though . Sejdul atailed

1538.

THE money granted by parliament enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty fail. which, being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying fix thousand land forces on board, was fent to make an attempt on the coast of Britanny. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland But the equipment of the fleet and army was fo dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the defign, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Brest so well guarded as to render an attempt on that place impracticable; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with fome adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit greater disorders, when Kersimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of fome militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their thips with confiderable lofs. But a small squadron of ten English ships had an opportunity of amply revenging this difgrace upon the French. The marsechal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of

The common net at that time, fays fir Richard Baker, for catching of protestants, was the real presence; and this net was used to catch the lady Elizabeth: For being asked one time, what she thought of the words of Chrift, This is my body, whether she thought it the true body of Christ that was in the facrament? It is faid, that after fome pauling, she thus answered:

Christ was the word that spake it, bas eragand their He took the bread and brake it; And what the word did make it, That I believe and take it.

inowed

Which, though it may feem but a flight expression, yet hath it more folidness than at first fight appears; at least, it served her turn at that time, to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done. Baker's Chronicle, p. 320.

fourteen

Death of

thequeens

Justinuisy

C H A P. fourteen thousand men; and having forced a passage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport, but count Egmont coming fuddenly upon him with fupetior forces, he was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he chose very skilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions possible; and posted his right along the river Aa, which he reasonably thought gave him full security from that quarter. But the English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing, failed up the river, and flanking the French, did fuch execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a complete victory.

MEANWHILE the principal army of France, under the duke of Guise, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had come into their respective camps, attended by the flower Tith Nos. of their nobility, men expected that some great and important event would follow from the emulation of these warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by the ambition, possessed not the enterprising genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwith-Manding the superiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negotiations were entered into for that purpole; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were fomewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter-quarters till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and its territory to the certainly never intended to preduce the beam

shele cales a worth quesdignillos en under the go-

England: But in the midst of these negociations, CHAP. news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his firmness on that capital article. This was the only circumstance that could have made the death of that princess be regretted by the nation.

MARY had long been in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, the had made use of an improper regimen. and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's fuccession, apprehensions of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed, dejection for the loss of Calais, concern for the ill state of her affairs. and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, who she knew intended foon to depart for Spain, and to fettle there during the remainder of his life: All these melancholy reflections preved upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven the queen, days. are more than beyond men williden wint to 17th Nov.

IT is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princefs. She poffeffed few qualities either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty. malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. And amidst that complication of vices, which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; a quality which she seems to have maintained throughout her whole life; except in the beginning of her reign, when the necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some promises to the protestants, which the certainly never intended to perform. But in these cases a weak bigoted woman, under the go-

1558.

CHAP. vernment of priests, easily finds casualtry sufficient to justify to herfelf the violation of a promise. She appears also, as well as her father, to have been fusceptible of some attachments of friendship; and that without the caprice and inconstancy which were fo remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in many circumstances of her life the gave indications of resolution and vigour of mind; a quality which feems to have been inhealiens: Yet the cueen, unmedia, clima rad ni tner

> CARDINAL Pole had long been fickly, from an intermitting fever; and he died the same day with the queen, about fixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modelty and humunity of his deportment, made him be univerfally beloved; infomuch, that in a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, and where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire juftice, even by most of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pontiff, Paul IV. had entertained some prejudices against him: And when England declared war against Henry, the ally of that pope, he feized the opportunity of revenge; and revoking Pole's legantine commission, appointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an observantine friar and confessor to the queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to act upon the commission; and Paul was afterwards obliged to reftore cardinal Pole the English during the fait to his authority.

> THERE occur few general remarks, besides what have already been made in the course of our narration, with regard to the general state of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then fo inconsiderable, that, sourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thousand pounds a-year would afterwards answer all necessary charges b. The arbitrary

> > b Burnet, vol. iff. p. 259.

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proceed-

broceedings of the queen above-mentioned, joined CHAP. to many monopolies granted by this princefs, as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and fo much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted, or did not find it necessary, to proceed in so tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the last reign and in the beginning of the prefent, had laid the same impositions on the merchants of the still-yard as on other aliens: Yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the folicitations of the emperor, and by her prerogative suspended those laws ! Nobody in that age pretended to question this exercise of prerogative. The historians are entirely filent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us. furious perfecution

An abfurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unless he had served an apprenticeship of feven years. The law was repealed in the first year of the queen; and this plain reason given, that it had occasioned the decay of the woollen manufact tory, and had ruined feveral towns. It is strange that Edward's law should have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and still more strange that it should still subsist. mit the new legate to ad an

A PASSAGE to Archangel had been discovered by the English during the last reign; and a beneficial trade with Muscovy had been established. A solemn embaffy was fent by the czar to queen Mary. The ambaffadors were shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland; but being hospitably entertained there, they proceeded on the journey, and were received at London with great pomp and folemnity. This feems to have been the first intercourse which that

proceed-

Rymer, vol. xv. p. 364.

Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 7.

e Hollingshed, p. 732. Heylin, p. 71.

1558.

Europe.

CHAP. empire had with any of the western potentates of

A LAW was passed in this reign', by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a-year. for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge fix horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel faddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances: and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons proper for them: He was obliged to have forty corflets furnished; fifty almain revets, or, instead of them, forty coats of plate, corslets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty harquebuts, and twenty morions or fallets. We may remark. that a man of a thousand marks of stock was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a-year: A proof that few or none at that time lived on their flock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the course of trade. There is no class above a thousand pounds a-year.

WE may form a notion of the little progress made in arts and refinement about this time from one circumstance: A man of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward VI.'s household paid only thirty shillings a year of our present money for his house in Channel row: Yet labour and provisions, and confequently houses, were only about a third of the present price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the nastiness and dirt and flovenly habits among the people. "The floors," fays he, " are commonly of clay, strewed with

CIR MILE

f 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. cap. 2.

Nicolfon's Hiftorical Library.

rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient CHAP.
collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones,

" spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every

" thing that is nasty b."

Hollingshed, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain, or rather rude way of living of the preceding generation. There fearcely was a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns: The fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows: The houses were nothing but watling plaistered over with clay: The people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow; and almost all

In this reign we find the first general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be

repaired by parish duty all over England k.

the furniture and utenfils were of wood '.

h Eraf. Epift. 432.

i See note [S] at the end of the volume.

k 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. cap. 8.

flock in movey, and that most profins were coade or

class above a thouland pounds acyces.
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erolds which blog blod hour of IV branket to rollen

shillings a year of our pricer money for ble books

in Channel row!; Yet labour and providence, and

confequently house, were care about a third of

the prefern price. Prairies artibes the frequent

flavinly ladits among the people " I be foots."

the be, " are commonly of city, throwed with

Vol. IV.

AMOIND STR

of the Carte Market

NOTES

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

NOTE [A], p. 34.

PROTESTANT writers have imagined, that because a man could purchase for a shilling an indulgence for the most enormous and unheard-of crimes, there must necessarily have ensued a total dissolution of morality, and consequently of civil society, from the practices of the Romish church. They do not consider that after all these indulgences were promulgated, there still remained (befides Hell-fire) the punishment by the civil magistrate, the infamy of the world, and fecret remorfes of conscience, which are the great motives that operate on mankind. The philosophy of Cicero, who allowed of an Elysium, but rejected all Tartarus, was a much more universal indulgence than that preached by Arcemboldi or Tetzel: Yet nobody will suspect Cicero of any design to promote immorality. The fale of indulgences feems, therefore, no more criminal than any other cheat of the church of Rome, or of any other church. The reformers, by entirely abolishing purgatory, did really, instead of partial indulgences fold by the pope, give gratis a general indulgence of a fimilar nature for all crimes and offences without exception or The fouls once configned to Hell were never supposed to be redeemable by any price. There is on record only one instance of a damned foul that was faved, and that by the special intercession of the Virgin. See Pascal's Provincial Letters. An indulgence saved the person who purchased it from purgatory only.

NOTE [B], p. 48.

IT is faid that when Henry heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the required supply, he was fo provoked that he fent for Edward Montague, one of the members who had a confiderable influence on the house; and he being introduced to his majesty, had the mortification to hear him speak in these words: Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass? And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off. This cavalier manner of Henry's succeeded; for next day the bill passed. Collins's British Peerage. Grove's Life of Wolsey. We are told by Hall, fol. 38. that cardinal Wolfey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that it were better that some should fuffer indigence than that the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware and refift not, nor ruffle not in this cafe, for it may fortune to cost some people their heads. Such was the style employed by this king and his ministers.

NOTE [C], p. 94.

HE first article of the charge against the cardinal is his procuring the legantine power, which, however, as it was certainly done with the king's confent and permission, could be nowife criminal. Many of the other articles also regard the mere exercise of that power. Some articles impute to him as crimes, particular actions which were natural or unavoidable to any man that was prime ministerwith fo unlimited an authority; fuch as receiving first all letters from the king's ministers abroad, receiving first all visits from foreign ministers, desiring that all applications should be made through him. He was also accused of naming himself with the king, as if he had been his fellow, the king and I. It is reported, that sometimes he even put his own name before the king's, ego et rex meus. But this mode of expression is justified by the Latin idiom. It is remarkable that his whispering in the king's ear, knowing himself to be affected with venereal distempers, is an article against him. Many of the charges are general, and inca-G g 2

pable of proof. Lord Herbert goes so far as to affirm that no man ever sell from so high a station who had so sew real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps a little too savourable to the cardinal. Yet the resutation of the articles by Cromwel, and their being rejected by a house of commons, even in this arbitrary reign, is almost a demonstration of Wolsey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his destruction, when on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the statute of provisors, which afforded him so little just hold on that minister. For that this indictment was subsequent to the attack in parliament, appears by Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, and Stowe, p. 551. and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment themselves. Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 42. article 7. Coke's Inst. pt. 4. fol. 89.

NOTE [D], p. 102.

VEN judging of this question by the Scripture, to L which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the king's cause appear but lame and impersect. Marriage, in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine, is indeed prohibited in Leviticus; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewish ceremonial or municipal law: And though it is there faid, in the conclusion, that the gentile nations, by violating those degrees of confanguinity, had incurred the divine displeasure, the extension of this maxim to every precise case before specified, is supposing the Scriptures to be composed with a minute accuracy and precision, to which we know with certainty the facred penmen did not think proper to confine themselves. descent of mankind from one common father, obliged them in the first generation, to marry in the nearest degrees of confanguinity: Inflances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs: And the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain cases, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a positive precept by the Mosaical law. It is in vain to fay that this precept was an exception to the rule; and an exception confined merely to the Jewish nation. The inference is still just, that such a marriage can contain no natural or moral turpitude; otherwise God, who is the author of all purity, would never in any case have enjoined it.

NOTE [E], p. 112.

BISHOP Burnet has given us an account of the number of bulls requifite for Cranmer's installation. By one bull, directed to the king, he is upon the royal nomination made archbishop of Canterbury. By a second, directed to himself, he is also made archbishop. By a third he is absolved from all censures. A fourth is directed to the fuffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the fame purpose. A fixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A feventh to all the laity in his fee. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordered to be confecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth the pall was fent him. By an eleventh, the archbishop of York and the bishop of London were required to put it on him. These were so many devices to draw fees to offices, which the popes had erected and disposed of for money. It may be worth observing, that Cranmer before he took the oath to the pope made a protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This was the invention of some casuist, and not very compatible with that strict fincerity, and that scrupulous conscience, of which Cranmer made profession. Collier, vol. ii. in Coll. No. 22, Burnet, vol. i. p. 128, 129.

NOTE [F], p. 128.

HERE are the terms in which the king's minister expressed himself to the pope. An non, inquam, fanctitas vestra plerosque habet quibuscum arcanum aliquid crediderit, putet id non minus celatum esse quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur; quod multo magis serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui singuli in suo regno sunt subjecti, neque etiam velint, possunt Regi non esse sissent.

Gg 3 lissimi.

lissimi. Væ namque illis, si vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent. Le Grand, tom. iii. p. 113. The king once said publicly before the council, that if any one spoke of him or his actions in terms which became them not, he would let them know that he was master. Et qu'il n'y auroit si belle tête qu'il ne sit voler. Id. p. 218.

NOTE [G], p. 158.

THIS letter contains so much nature, and even elegance, as to deserve to be transmitted to posterity, without

any alteration in the expression. It is as follows:

"SIR, your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write or what to excuse I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your savour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

" perform your command. "But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor " wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault where " not fo much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to " fpeak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found " in Anne Boleyn: With which name and place I could "willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at " any time fo far forget myself in my exaltation or re-" ceived queenship, but that I always looked for such an " alteration as I now find; for the ground of my prefer-" ment being on no furer foundation than your grace's, " fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient " to draw that fancy to some other object. You have " chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and com-" panion, far beyond my defert or defire. If then you " found me worthy of fuch honour, good your grace let " not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, " withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let " that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal heart to-" wards

" wards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your " most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. "Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, " and let not my fworn enemies fit as my accusers and " judges; yea let me receive an open trial, for my truth " shall fear no open shame; then shall you fee either mine " innocence cleared, your fuspicion and conscience satisf-" fied, the ignominy and flander of the world flopped, or " my guilt openly declared. So that whatfoever God or " you may determine of me, your grace may be freed " from an open censure; and mine offence being so law-" fully proved, your grace is at liberty both before God and " man not only to execute worthy punishment on me as " an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already " fettled on that party for whose fake I am now as I am, " whose name I could some good while since have pointed " unto, your grace not being ignorant of my fuspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous flander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have sound favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request, and I will so leave to trouble your grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May;

"Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,
ANNE BOLEYN."

NOTE [H], p. 169.

A Proposal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the leffer monasteries; and had been much opposed by bishop Fisher, who was then alive. He told his brethren that this was fairly showing the king the way how he might come at the greater monasteries, "An " ax," faid he, " which wanted a handle, came upon a " time into the wood, making his moan to the great trees, " that he wanted a handle to work withal, and for that " cause he was constrained to sit idle; therefore he made " it his request to them that they would be pleased to " grant him one of their small faplings within the wood " to make him a handle; who, mistrusting no guile, " granted him one of their smaller trees to make him a " handle. But now becoming a complete ax, he fell for " to work within the same wood, that in process of time " there was neither great nor small trees to be found in "the place where the wood stood. And fo, my lords, if you " grant the king these smaller monasteries, you do but make him a handle, whereby, at his own pleasure, he may " cut down all the cedars within your Lebanons." Dr. Bailie's Life of bishop Fisher, p. 108.

NOTE [I], p. 182.

THERE is a curious passage with regard to the suppression of monasteries to be found in Coke's Institutes, 4th Inst. chap. i, p. 44. It is worth transcribing, as it shews the ideas of the English government, entertained during the reign of Henry VIII. and even in the time of fir Edward Coke, when he wrote his Institutes. It clearly appears that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were desirous of making the crown quite independent, and wished only to remove from themselves, as much as possible, the burthens of government. A large standing army, and a fixed revenue, would on these conditions have been regarded as great blessings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little suspicion that the power of the crown could ever

fail, that the English owe all their present liberty. The title of the chapter in Coke is, Advice concerning new and plausible Projects and Offers in Parliament. " When any " plausible project," fays he, " is made in parliament, to " draw the lords and commons to affent to any act (espe-" cially in matters of weight and importance), if both " houses do give upon the matter projected and promised " their confent, it shall be most necessary, they being " trufted for the commonwealth, to have the matter pro-" jected and promifed (which moved the houses to confent) " to be established in the same act, lest the benefit of the " act be taken, and the matter projected and promifed " never performed, and fo the houses of parliament per-" form not the trust reposed in them, as it fell out (taking " one example for many) in the reign of Henry the Eighth: "On the king's behalf, the members of both houses were " informed in parliament, that no king or kingdom was " fafe but where the king had three abilities: 1. To live " of his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any " fudden invasion or insurrection. 2. To aid his confe-" derates, otherwise they would never affist him. 3. To " reward his well-deferving fervants. Now the project " was, that if the parliament would give unto him all the " abbies, priories, friaries, nunneries, and other mona-" fleries, that for ever in time then to come, he would " take order that the fame should not be converted to pri-" vate uses; but first, that his exchequer for the purposes " aforesaid should be enriched; secondly, the kingdom " ftrengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thou-" fand well-trained foldiers, with skilful captains and " commanders; thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the fubject, who never afterwards (as was projected), in any " time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fif-" teenths, loans, or other common aids; fourthly, lest " the honour of the realm should receive any diminution " of honour by the diffolution of the faid monasteries, " there being twenty-nine lords of parliament of the abbots " and priors (that held of the king per baroniam, whereof " more in the next leaf), that the king would create a The faid mona-" number of nobles, which we omit. " fteries were given to the king by authority of divers " acts of parliament, but no provision was therein made for the faid project, or any part thereof."

NOTE [K], p. 192.

OLLIER, in his Ecclefiastical History, vol. ii. p. 152. has preserved an account which Cromwell gave of this conference, in a letter to fir Thomas Wyat, the king's ambassador in Germany. "The king's majesty," says Cromwel, " for the reverence of the holy facrament of " the altar, did fit openly in his hall, and there prefided at " the disputation, process and judgment of a miserable " heretic facramentary, who was burned the 20th of No-" vember. It was a wonder to fee how princely, with how excellent gravity and inestimable majesty his high-" nels exercifed there the very office of supreme head of " the church of England. How benignly his grace effay-. ed to convert the miserable man: How strong and ma-" nifest reasons his highness alleged against him. I wish " the princes and potentates of Christendom to have had a " meet place to have feen it. Undoubtedly they should " have much marvelled at his majesty's most high wisdom " and judgment, and reputed him no otherwise after the " fame, than in a manner the mirror and light of all other " kings and princes in Christendom." It was by such flatteries that Henry was engaged to make his fentiments the standard to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the severest penalties, his strong and manifest reasons for transubstantiation.

NOTE [L], p. 195.

THERE is a story, that the duke of Norfolk, meeting, foon after this act was passed, one of his chaplains, who was suspected of favouring the reformation, said to him, "Now, fir, what think you of the law to hinder priests from having wives?" "Yes, my lord," replies the chaplain, "you have done that; but I will answer for it you cannot hinder men's wives from having priess."

NOTE [M], p. 210.

TO shew how much Henry sported with law and common sense; how servilely the parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were lost to all sense of shame; an act was passed this session, declaring that a pre-contract should be no ground for annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made use of both in the case of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the king's intention in this law is said to be a design of restoring the princes Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the present object, without regarding the inconsistency of his conduct. The parliament made it high treason to deny the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Herbert.

NOTE [N], p. 221.

I T was enacted by this parliament, that there should be trial of treason in any county where the king should appoint by commission. The statutes of treason had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and such an expedient saved trouble and charges in trying that crime. The same parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom; and Henry henceforth annexed the title of King of Ireland to his other titles. This session the commons first began the practice of freeing any of their members who were arrested, by a writ issued by the speaker. Formerly it was usual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpose. This precedent increased the authority of the commons, and had afterwards important consequences. Hollingshed, p. 955, 956. Baker, p. 289.

NOTE [O], p. 230.

THE perfecutions exercised during James's reign are not to be ascribed to his bigotry, a vice of which he seems to have been as free as Francis the First, or the emperor Charles, both of whom, as well as James, shewed, in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. The extremities to which all these princes

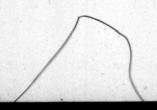
princes were carried, proceeded entirely from the fituation of affairs during that age, which rendered it impossible for them to act with greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the resolution of supporting the ancient establishments. So violent was the propensity of the times towards innovation, that a bare toleration of the new preachers was equivalent to a formed design of changing the national religion.

NOTE [P], p. 296.

CPOTSWOOD, p. 75. The same author, p. 92. tells D us a flory which confirms this character of the popila clergy in Scotland. It became a great dispute in the university of St. Andrews, whether the pater should be said to God or the faints. The friars, who knew in general that the reformers neglected the faints, were determined to maintain their honour with great obstinacy, but they knew not upon what topics to found their doctrine. Some held that the pater was faid to God formaliter, and to faints materialiter; others, to God principaliter, and to faints minus principaliter; others would have it ultimate and non ultimate: But the majority seemed to hold, that the pater was faid to God capiendo stricte, and to saints capiendo large. A fimple fellow who ferved the fub-prior, thinking there was fome great matter in hand that made the doctors hold fo many conferences together, asked him one day what the matter was? the sub-prior answering, Tom, that was the fellow's name, we cannot agree to whom the pater-noster should be faid. He suddenly replied, To whom, fir, should it be faid, but unto God? Then faid the sub-prior, What ball we do with the faints? He answered, Give them Aves and Creeds enow in the devil's name; for that may suffice them, The answer going abroad, many faid, that he had given a wifer decision than all the doctors had done with all their difsinclions.

NOTE [Q], p. 321.

A NOTHER act passed this session takes notice, in the preamble, that the city of York, formerly well inhabited, was now much decayed; insomuch that many of the cures could not afford a competent maintenance to the incum-



firstes were empowered to unite as many parishes as they thought proper. An ecclesiastical historian, Collier, vol. ii. p. 230. thinks that this decay of York is chiefly to be ascribed to the dissolution of monasteries, by which the revenues fell into the hands of persons who lived at a distance.

A very grievous tax was imposed this fession upon the whole flock and monied interest of the kingdom, and even upon its industry. It was a shilling in the pound yearly, during three years, on every person worth ten pounds or upwards: The double on aliens and denizens. Thefe laft. if above twelve years of age, and if worth less than twenty shillings, were to pay eight-pence yearly. Every wether was to pay two-pence yearly; every ewe three-pence. The woollen manufacturers were to pay eight-pence a pound on the value of all the cloth they made. These exorbitant taxes on money are a proof that few people lived on money lent at interest: For this tax amounts to half of the yearly income of all money-holders, during three years, estimating their interest at the rate allowed by law; and was too grievous to be borne, if many persons had been affected by it. It is remarkable, that no tax at all was laid upon land this fession. The profits of merchandise were commonly fo high, that it was supposed it could bear this imposition. The most absurd part of the laws seems to be the tax upon the woollen manufactures. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 36. The subsequent parliament repealed the tax on sheep and woollen cloth. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 23. But they continued the other tax a year longer. Ibid.

The clergy taxed themselves at fix shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. This taxation was ratified in parliament, which had been the common practice since the reformation, implying that the clergy have no legislative power, even over themselves. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 35.

NOTE [R], p. 401.

THE pope at first gave cardinal Pole powers to transact only with regard to the past fruits of the church lands; but being admonished of the danger attending any attempt towards a resumption of the lands, he enlarged the cardinal's powers, and granted him authority to ensure the suture possession.

possession of the church lands to the present proprietors. There was only one clause in the cardinal's powers that has given occasion for some speculation. An exception was made of fuch cases as Pole should think important enough to merit the being communicated to the holy fee. But Pole simply ratified the possession of all the church lands; and his commission had given him full powers to that purpose. See Harleyan Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 264. 266. It is true some councils have declared, that it exceeds even the power of the pope, to alienate any church lands; and the pope, according to his convenience, or power, may either adhere to or recede from this declaration. But every year gave folidity to the right of the proprietors of church lands, and diminished the authority of the popes; fo that men's dread of popery in fubsequent times was more founded on party or religious zeal, than on very folid reasons.

NOTE [S], p. 449.

THE passage of Hollingshed, in the Discourse prefixed to his History, and which some ascribe to Harrison, is as follows. Speaking of the increase of luxury: Neither do I fpeak this in reproach of any man, God is my judge; but to shew that I do rejoice rather to see how God has blessed us with his good gifts, and to behold how that in a time wherein all things are grown to most excessive prices, we do yet find the means to obtain and atchieve such furniture as heretofore has been impossible: There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvelloufly altered in England within their found remembrance. One is, the multitude of chimnies lately erected; whereas, in their young days, there were not above two or three, if fo many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor-places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personage); but each made his fire against a reredosse in the half where he dined and dressed his meat. The second is the great amendment of lodging: For, faid they, our fathers, and we ourselves, have lain full oft upon firaw pallettes covered only with a sheet under coverlets made of dagfwaine or hopharlots (I use their own terms), and a good round log under their head

instead of a bolster. If it were so, that the father or the good-man of the house had a matrass or flock-bed, and thereto a fack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town: So well were they contented. Pillows, faid they, were thought meet only for women in child-bed: As for servants, if they had any sheet above them it was well: For seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas, and rafed their hardened hides.—The third thing they tell of is, the exchange of Treene platers (so called, I suppose, from Tree or Wood) into pewter, and wooden spoons into filver or tin. For so common were all forts of treene vessels in old time, that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a falt) in a good farmer's house. Description of Britain, chap. x. - Again in chap. xvi. In times past men were contented to dwell in houses builded of fallow, willow, &c.; so that the use of the oak was in a manner dedicated wholly unto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, navigation, &c. but now fallow, &c. are rejected, and nothing but oak any where regarded; and yet see the change; for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw, which is a fore alteration. In these the courage of the owner was a sufficient defence to keep the house in safety; but now the affurance of the timber must defend the men from rob-Now have we many chimnies; and yet our tenderlines complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poses; then had we none but reredoffes, and our heads did never ache. For as the smoke in those days was supposed to be a sufficient hardening for the timber of the house, so it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the good-man and his family from the quack or pose, wherewith, as then, very few were acquainted.—Again in chap. xviii. Our pewterers in time past employed the use of pewter only upon dishes and pots, and a few other trifles for fervice; whereas now they are grown into fuch exquisite cunning, that they can in manner imitate by infulion any form or fashion of cup, dish, salt, or bowl or goblet, which is made by goldfmith's craft, though they be never fo curious, and very artificially forged. In some places beyond the sea, a garnish of good slat English pewter (I say slat, because dishes and platters in my time begin to be made deep, and like basons, and are indeed more convenient both for sauce and keeping the meat warm) is almost esteemed so precious as the like number of vessels that are made of sine silver. If the reader is curious to know the hours of meals in queen Elizabeth's reign, he may learn it from the same Author. With us the nobility, gentry, and students, do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at sive, or between sive and six at afternoon. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noon and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noon as they call it, and sup at seven or eight: But out of term in our universities the scholars dine at ten.

Froissart mentions waiting on the duke of Lancaster at five o'clock in the afternoon, when he had supped. These hours are still more early. It is hard to tell, why, all over the world, as the age becomes more luxurious, the hours become later. Is it the crowd of amusements that push on the hours gradually? or are the people of fashion better pleased with the secrecy and silence of nocturnal hours, when the industrious vulgar are all gone to rest? In rude ages, men have sew amusements or occupations

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